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The old French government *did not possess the power to lighten the burdens of the people.* It was compelled to call for the assistance of the people themselves. I beg your lordship to remember this; for, in some shape or other, the same thing must take place here. The old French government called upon the people for their assistance when it was too late; and therefore the monarchy and the church fell.

In 1803 I told the vapouring ADDINGTON, that, if the debt were not arrested in its progress, the nobility and the church must finally fall.

Once more, therefore, at the end of precisely twenty-five years of unavailing calling on the nobility; once more I call on them to conciliate the people, and to appeal to them for protection against the all-devouring monster, the funds.

May they be admonished by what they have already felt, and seek in the revived friendship of the people that security for themselves which I am satisfied they will find in no other source. If a contrary line of conduct were to be pursued; if a refusal of reform were still to be persisted in; if to their deadly and natural foes, the loan-jobbing race, the landowners were to persist in adding the mass of the people, a true picture of *all* the consequences I forbear to draw.—COBBETT'S REGISTER, 8th January, 1822.

TO THE

LANDOWNERS OF ENGLAND.

On their Defeat by the Loan-mongering Crew relative to the proposed Tax upon the Funds.

Kensington, 15th February, 1831.

LANDOWNERS,

I ADDRESS you by an appellation expressive of no feeling of respect, because I have no respect for you, as a body. For six-and-twenty years, indeed seven-and-twenty, I have been an attentive observer of your conduct; and in that conduct I have constantly perceived a base truckling to men in power and to

the loan-jobbers, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, towards the middle class of society, an increasing insolence and haughtiness, and towards the lower class deeds innumerable, of which the mildest denomination that belongs to them is that of extreme hardness and severity. I have seen a tax on income collected, which took as much from the yearly earnings of the professional man, the tradesman and the farmer, as from the perpetual estate of the landowner; which took from me, for instance, who earned a thousand a-year, and who had then six children to bring up, one hundred pounds a-year, though that income depended upon my life, and not only that, but my health; and not only upon that, but upon the continuation of my ability, and particularly upon the soundness of my mind; while the same law took no more than one hundred pounds out of a thousand pounds a-year of rent, which the landowner derived from a freehold estate, and which estate always yielded the same rent to him or to his children whether he were dead or alive, sick or well, riding about his fields or in a mad-house. I have seen military and naval academies established, the necessary effect of which must be to shut against the middling class of society all the openings to military and naval power and emolument. I have seen, in the imposition of the assessed taxes, of the taxes on stamps, of the taxes on wine, on spirits, and in short of the taxes imposed on every-thing else, I have seen the same partially prevail. Towards the working classes what have I seen? I have seen endless projects which have not been carried into effect; but I have seen quite enough that have been carried into full and terrible effect. I have seen the passing and enforcing of the new felony law; of the new trespass law; of STURGES BOURNE'S two bills; of the transportation for poaching law, and I have seen this power lodged in the hands of the landowners themselves. I have seen the

tread-mill invented; I have seen SIDMOUTH'S and CASTLEREAGH'S green bags; I have seen the dungeons opened at the discretion of the Secretaries of State; I have heard the roar of laughter at the sufferings of OGDEN in his dungeon, a man seventy years of age, and of spotless character, who had brought up twenty children without ever having resorted to the parish for relief. I have seen and heard these things, and many, many others, within the last twenty-seven years, and I have seen the LANDOWNERS the very foremost in calling for or defending them all.

Therefore the defeat which you have now experienced gives me delight which it would be impossible for me adequately to describe. Look, now, at the several sentences which I have chosen for my motto. You will see, from the second of those sentences, that I foresaw what you would bring it to so long as twenty-seven years ago; which was before the doing of those things which have displeased me so much, and some of which I have mentioned above. It was, too, at a time when the debt was not more than three-fourths of what it is now, and when a revenue of about thirty-five millions a year was deemed amply sufficient. What is your case now, then? Why, it is just what I said it would be when, in 1822, I published the Register from which the extracts are made. I shall now, when I have bestowed a few short remarks on the taxes to be taken off, proceed to remark on the grand question, the intended tax on the funds. The tax to be taken off from the newspapers, though I myself, and for my own interest, care not a straw about the matter; though I know that it will be neither gain nor loss to me, I see this reduction of the tax with pleasure; because, in the first place, there ought to be no such tax, and, in the next place, because it will give a famous blow to that newspaper monopoly which has been such a disgrace to the country, and has done it so much mischief. The *Bloody Old Times* winces under it; and well it may; for it lops off a good half of the value of that

standing advocate for blood. If the old thing were worth twenty thousand pounds last week, it is not worth ten thousand pounds this week. If the Government find, as I am satisfied it will, that it gains in amount of revenue by reducing the amount of the stamp to two-pence; and if it see, as I am sure it will, that it would gain still more by reducing it to a penny, and by reducing the advertisement duty another half; if it see that, as I am sure it will see it, and if it act agreeably to its manifest interests, the bloody old thing may shut up its shop. I always said, take away the tax, and this horrible thing falls at once, and the Government is freed from the dread which it justly entertains of provoking the hostility of bands of mercenary wretches who employ this powerful instrument, the press, for the worst of all possible purposes. The Government will soon find how much it will gain in the tax upon paper, even from this measure. As to advertisements, they will increase prodigiously in number. I have no question, for my part, of the great gain in point of the revenue; and in point of advantage to the country, from the speed that it will give to the communications between persons in trade, and of the encouragement which it will give to honest and able writers, the effect will be prodigious; and, therefore, though the measure will not affect me in the smallest degree in the world, I think the Ministers are entitled to great praise for this measure. It was also wise and just to change the tax from cotton goods to raw cotton; because, in the former shape, it was savagely unjust towards the working people, and gave rise to frauds enormous. The conscientious manufacturer paid the duty honestly; those of a contrary character did not pay a tenth part of what they ought to have paid. But, it is the total abolition of the tax upon candles which gives me the greatest pleasure. If they had added an abolition of that on the malt and the hops and the soap, I would, to be sure, have gone to Downing-street, and have stood bare-headed in the rain to thank them

Poor Swing (the labourers of the East the South and the West) will have some little to thank them for on the score of *coals*, owing to the stupidity of the landowners of latter days, in destroying those endless sources of fuel that were found in the *wastes* (as they were foolishly called) and in the careful cultivation of timber and underwood. But, the tax being removed wholly from the candles is a great and unequivocal good. How often did I, in my Registers sent from Long Island, describe the great advantages of farmers being able to turn their own fat into candles! How often did I cite it as a striking proof of the advantages of that Government over this! The Ministers themselves do not, I am sure, see one half of the good that they will do here. It is said, that it is only a penny a pound taken off the price of candles. Is it not? It is three-pence a pound at the least. The farmer gets next to nothing for his tallow; and this is one of the reasons why he never kills his sheep. The price of tallow in the great market is nothing to me. I have sometimes killed sheep at Kensington, for my own use, a circumstance which led the bloody *Old Times* and all its wolf-whelps about the country to assert positively, that I had "*turned the lower room of my house into a butcher's shop.*" I know not what tallow was in the market; but I know that I got two-pence half-penny a pound for mine, when my candles cost me from seven-pence to eight-pence. I know the expense of making candles well: I know what beautiful candles my servant made in Long Island; and it shall be my business, in a very short time, to teach the farmers and labourers in England how to do the like. One of the great evils that press upon the country, and that has reduced it to its present state, has been the withdrawing from agriculture those employments which formerly occupied the wives and daughters of the labourers at other times than those of weeding, hay-making, and harvest. These employments were carding, spinning, and weaving in many instances. I have seen a hundred spinning-wheels

at a time, in the summer, humming before the doors of the cottages of one single village. The sacks were all spun, and even wove, in the villages. The infernal system of taxing and funding have driven men to resort to the water and the fire to supply the place of manual labour; have huddled millions of miserable wretches together to work in unnatural heat, and to eke out their lives in smoke and stink and prostitution, and the landowners, set on by a bell-wether minister, have echoed and re-echoed again the cries of the "*manufacturing greatness of England,*" as the noisy and empty-headed Pitt used to call it. The PEELS, the ARKWRIGHTS, and all the tribe of grinders and screwers, have swelled up into nobles; the small gentry have all disappeared; the parsons, holding an unalienable property, have supplied their places as magistrates; the agricultural labourers, having lost the employment for the females, have been reduced to paupers; the *natural magistracy*, deriving power from respect and affection, much more than from fear, being thus taken away, new and severe laws innumerable have been enacted, till at last, as Lord Stanhope observed last winter, there is an open "*breach between the poor and the rich.*" Thus, all that we behold now is nothing more than the natural result of taxing and funding.

Now, amongst the employments for the females of the labourers in agriculture, one was the *making of candles of various descriptions*; and this employment will now return. For it will very soon be asked of a young woman who offers herself for service in the country, whether she knows how to make candles. Do not tell me about the *price of tallow in the market*. I know that the want of a right to make my own candles is a loss to me of from ten to fifteen pounds a year at the very lowest. If I were a farmer it would be a loss to me of a great deal more. Additional female hands will be wanted in the country in consequence of the repeal of this abominable tax. And not only will the labourers have their

candles cheaper, but in many cases they will have them for next to nothing. The farmers will give the fat to married women, allowing them a certain portion for the manufacture. Neighbours will deal with one another as they do in America, without running to a shop for a candle, and there paying the profits of three or four parties, besides the expense of the carriage and of the fetching. It is impossible so to manage the thing without the labourers having light at a trifling expense, for the want of which the winter evenings are now passed in the dark instead of being cheerfully employed in various matters useful to both men and women. It will be curious to see a Twopenny Trash employed in circulating, amongst the working classes, *praises on the King's Ministers*. This will assuredly be done in the next number, or the number after, where I am to give them detailed instructions for the making of candles. I shall now quit this pleasing subject for the present, and come to the battle between the land and the funds, in which the former has just experienced so signal a defeat.

In my leave-taking address, when I sailed for Long Island, in order to avoid the dungeons of SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH, which dungeons the landholders, more than any-body else, had enabled them to open, I told the *reformers* to wait with patience: I did not tell them to assemble in great multitudes unarmed, to be chopped down or trampled under foot by Yeomanry Cavalry, while I screamed out "*Murder*;" but I told them to "*wait with patience till an open war should take place between the land and the funds*." For then, said I, *the people must be let in*. If they be let in by an honest reform of the Parliament, they will side with the landowners, whose business will simply be to take off the taxes; but the probabilities are that the whole thing will go drivelling along from expedient to expedient, till all goes to pieces like a ship upon the rocks. Thus far this is not prophecy; but it is now become history. The measure just proposed, and abandoned as soon as

proposed, by the Ministers, was a first attack; a first open attack on the funds in behalf of the land. The funds have furiously driven the assailants back; and I dare say that you, the landowners, begin to think that it would have been better for you if you had taken me by the hand, or, rather, considering our relative power and influence, and sense and resources of mind, have suffered me to take you by the hand and lead you along in 1809, and before that time, instead of chuckling at what you stupidly deemed my certain destruction.

Let us see how this matter stands between you and me; for this is a proper time to remind my readers all over the world of the manner in which I have operated upon your interests; or, rather, to show how your present embarrassment, and deep humiliation, and the great and imminent danger to which you are now exposed, arises from your hostility to me, more than from all other causes put together.

In 1803, in 1806, in 1814, and all along until 1822; I, in fact, notwithstanding all your baseness towards me, and your hard deeds towards the people, entertained no desire to see you sacrificed to the monster of Change Alley, provided the people had a free parliamentary reform. Even when you chuckled at the sentence which you thought to be a sentence of death in 1810, when I began, from my prison, to send forth "*Paper against Gold*;" even then I said nothing about the church and crown lands; and as to the abbey lands, I never even whispered a word about them. All my efforts were levelled against the funds, paid, as they were, in unjust amount. Even from Long Island I wrote nothing hostile to your interests. The Puff-out, which came from that Island, and the circumstances connected with which will, when I come to relate them in the history of my life, be found to furnish subject for one of the merriest comedies that ever was acted; even the Puff-out, which certainly *produced Peel's cash payments*, had nothing in it intended to be hostile to you; for who the devil could believe that you would continue

to pay in gold the interest of a debt contracted in moonshine, and in the contracting of which fellows without a farthing in their pockets had got millions upon millions of money! Who the devil was to believe that a set of fellows having estates that produced corn and cattle and hides and wool and timber, would give two trees and two every-things for one that they had borrowed! Who the devil could believe that a set of fellows having fine estates in land would let a parcel of infidel Jews, or pretended Christians, take away these estates bit by bit, but in the most open and flagrant manner, under the impudent pretence, the audacious the infamous pretence, "*that the taking away was required by NATIONAL FAITH!*"

Thus, up to 1819, I was always on your side: even after that; though you had chuckled and were so delighted when acts had been passed which you thought would not only chop off my fingers but silence my tongue. Two of the Six Acts were manifestly passed expressly for me. Mr. Hume said so at the time, and he repeated his assertion the other day in the city, as to one of those acts especially. One act banished me if I said any-thing having a tendency to bring either House of parliament into contempt. Another act compelled me to give bail beforehand if I published any-thing with a stamp. If I published any-thing without a stamp oftener than once a month, it compelled me to sell it for not less than sixpence, in order to make the number of my readers small; and, in order that I might get nothing by the publication, it compelled me to have two sheets and a quarter of paper all printed over, and compelled me to have paper each sheet of which should be *twenty-one inches long and seventeen inches wide*. Another act forbade me to speak in any *room, yard, garden, field, or place*, upon the subject of politics, to any number of persons, if money were taken for their entrance thereinto.

Notwithstanding all your triumphing, all your chuckling, all your indecent and unmanly exultations, even at these attempts; these low, these shameful

attempts against one man; notwithstanding all this, I still continued your friend; and, throughout the years 1820, 1821, and, until June 1822, I pleaded your cause against the monster of Change-alley with an earnestness and a force equalled only by your stupid ingratitude. But now, in the month last mentioned, I changed my tone, the occasion of which was this; and *the consequences* you are now feeling.

The same act which had shut me out from any house, room, building, garden, yard, orchard, field, or *place*, had also prevented me from addressing a meeting of any county of which I was not a freeholder, and those who passed the act had taken pretty good care that I should be the freeholder of none. But freeholds in several counties were immediately given me, and amongst others, in the county of Kent, in which there was a County Meeting held, at Maidstone, in the month of June, 1822. At this meeting a petition was brought forward by those who are called the Whigs, LORD DARNLEY, LORD THANET and others, praying for a *reduction of taxes*. I said that it was unreasonable to call upon the Ministers to take off taxes, unless we were prepared to support them in taking of part of the interest of the debt, and I moved that the following words be added to the petition: "And your petitioners further pray that there may be a reform of your honourable House, and that your honourable House will be pleased to make a JUST reduction in the interest of the national debt." After a long opposition from LORD DARNLEY, and the like from KNATCHBULL, both of whom manifestly disliking the Reform part more than the other, the Meeting (a very large one) divided, and there were only *seven hands* held up against the motion, two of which were the hands of Knatchbull and Lord Darnley. We, the speechifiers, were standing in wagons: and just under the tail of the wagon where I was standing, there was a tall, fat, bull-frog farmer, who, while I was speaking, looked up in my face and shook a great hunting-whip that he had in his hand,

crying out, "Off, off, you jacobber!" I, by way of episode in my harangue, stooped down over the tail-board, and, giving him a sowse, and knocking off his hat, said, "Hold your tongue, you great bleating fool! you will vote for me by-and-by, after all;" and so he did; for he held up one hand, and put his hat upon the top of his whip and held it up. Knatchbull would insist upon it that the people had not understood the meaning of the amendment, and that the High Sheriff ought to put the question again. This gave me an opportunity of explaining the meaning of my motion, which, as far as related to the debt, I did in these words: "Gentlemen, we are now paying the fund-holders three times as much as we ought to pay them. My proposition is, that we should pay them less. If we continue to pay them at the present rate, the landlords will, in a few years, lose their estates. Farmers, traders, and others of the middle class, will be poor to what they have been; the labourers will be starved, or will be driven into a state of convulsion and civil war; and the country will become so feeble as not to be able to go to war, though the French were to sail up the Thames and attack the Tower of London. I call upon you, therefore, the pattern county of England, to set an example to the country in praying for a measure which is absolutely necessary to preserve the whole kingdom from ruin. You now understand me clearly. I propose to you a just reduction of this enormous and all-devouring debt." Even after this, Knatchbull made a long speech, imploring the meeting to reject any proposition. The High Sheriff put the question again; and then, instead of seven hands, there were four held up against it!

Up came the petition, piping hot, to the House that very night. HONEYWOOD (the other member for the county), who had not held up his hand against my motion, joined, nevertheless, in the hue and cry that was set up against it in the House. One gentleman (I am not at full liberty to name

him), of great landed estate in the county, said to another gentleman, who told it to me immediately after the meeting was over; this land-owner, while my motion was debating, bent down from the raves of the wagon, and said to this other gentleman, "I am sorry that the motion has been made by HIM, but, since it is made, I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE CARRIED." This man joined Knatchbull in his abuse of me in the House, and thus I had complete proof of the deep malignity of the Whigs against me. I knew well that both sides wished it; and I knew their intention to do it, too, if they possibly could do it, without giving me the credit of the thing. A gentleman who went to the House, and heard what passed that evening, came and gave me an account of it. Never was harmony equal to that of that night. Castle-reagh and Brougham; Knatchbull and Honeywood; John Smith and John Martin; Huskisson and Abercromby; Calcraft and somebody to match him (if his match be to be found in the world); all embraced each other, all seemed to forget their sincerely reciprocal animosities in lamenting that the men of Kent should, from their momentary want of reflection, have been entrapped into such a petition, by the deep art of "a dishonest demagogue." The next morning confirmed the truth of the verbal account that I had received, though stripped of the vivacity of that report. But before I read this, and upon the verbal account, I exclaimed, "What, do the ———s seem to think, then, that it is I that owe this debt! 'Tis their debt—not mine; and now, by —, I will take care that they shall not shuffle out of it. Let their church go, and their crown lands. If I be 'dishonest,' let them pray honestly. Henceforth they shall learn what it is to abuse me."

From this time I became an advocate for national faith as well as they; that is to say, an advocate for not touching the funds without FIRST touching the places, the pensions, the

sinecures, the grants, the crowds of generals and admirals, the swarms of dead-weight, and particularly the crown lands, the tithes, and other property commonly called the church property. In the month of January, on the third day of that month, 1823, there was to be a county meeting in Norfolk, and as soon as it was announced, a friend gave me a freehold in the county, that I might be legally present at the meeting. For this meeting, I, with plenty of time for reflection beforehand, prepared a petition which should be the standard; the declaration of principles, upon which in future I would proceed. It contained, in the first place, a description of the immense swallowings of the aristocracy, in all the various branches of our enormous expenditure; and then it declared, that though the interest of the debt ought to be reduced, that not a farthing of that interest ought to be touched, until the crown lands and a large part of the property commonly called church property, had been taken and disposed of for public purposes, and until the Parliament had been radically reformed. I myself was the mover of this petition. The meeting was held in St. Andrew's Hall, containing many thousands of persons. The two parties, with COKE and WOODHOUSE at their head, contrived, by the combinations which they had formed beforehand, to have such noises made, that the meeting, generally speaking, never heard a word of the petition read: they saw it in my hand; they saw my lips move in the reading of it; they saw me hand it to the Sheriff, and heard him say, "I now put the petition of Mr. Cobbett," and up went their hands as of one man. COKE made a long speech, after the manner of Knatchbull, and talked a good deal about *dishonesty*, though he said not a word about *Dungeness Lighthouse*, that infallible proof of his own disinterestedness and generosity. He insisted that the question ought to be *put again*, because the people had not heard the petition read. PARSON GLOVER made a long speech, imploring the meeting not to agree to the petition; but the parson was fool enough to tell

people what the petition contained. The High Sheriff finally put the question again. And when the negative was put upon it, even those that had been hired and stationed about the Hall to prevent me from being heard, had not the courage to hold up their hands. The High Sheriff, therefore, signed the petition, as the petition of the county meeting. Both parties intrigued with him not to do it; but he, declaring it to be fairly the petition of the meeting, clapped his name to it. When the news of this affair reached London, CANNING, shallow as the fellow was, saw in it a fearful sign; and it being observed to him that it was nothing, for that the meeting had *never heard* the petition read: "So much the worse," said he, "for that shows the unlimited confidence that they had in the man that proposed it." All manner of means were made use of to shuffle aside this petition. It was sent up by a coach, the people belonging to which contrived to miscarry it. I obtained it by a threat of prosecution; or, more likely, through the dread the coach people had of the consequences of the displeasure of the people of Norwich. When I carried it to Daddy Coke at his town lodging, he, without the smallest provocation on my part, treated me in the most haughty and insolent manner; and if I had then known what I now know about Dungeness Lighthouse, I would have paid him off upon the spot. As it is, I will pay him off by instalments, as disposition and opportunity shall serve: now and then in a digressive paragraph: at other times in a simile to round a sentence with; here in a parenthesis; there in a single word. He has now become as mute as a mouse in one of the barns where he held his hole-and-corner meetings against me.

This Norfolk Petition was the beginning of a new era in my exertions for lightening the burdens of the country. SIR JAMES GRAHAM's pamphlet of 1827, in which he proposed to take *thirty per cent.* from the fundholders, without taking a shilling from the aristocracy, or the church, or the dead-weight, or any thing else, afforded a fine opportu-

nity for me to ask them what was become of their charges against me on account of the Kent and Norfolk petitions; and also afforded me a fine opportunity for showing in detail the monstrous injustice of taking away a part of the income of the widows and orphans and aged persons, the means of whose existence were deposited in the funds, while all the enormous pensions, sinecures, grants, salaries, and all the thousands of generals and admirals, and all the millions upon millions swallowed by the clergy, were suffered to remain untouched. Nay, while sixteen hundred thousand pounds had been voted out of the taxes, to be given to the clergy, over and above the immense amount of their livings, four or five of which livings are frequently in the hands of one single man.

Since this pamphlet of Sir James Graham; since the unmerciful lashing which that pamphlet got from my pen, we have heard very little from the landowners about the justice of touching the interest of the debt; very little until this proposition of my LORD ALTHORP came forth. Now, with regard to that proposition *in itself*, the only fault that I have to find with it is, that it was a round-about, indirect measure, the evident tendency and the motive of which were not avowed; and that the rate was too small to have been efficient, besides the operation being complicated. If his Lordship had proposed to take ten per cent. from the interest of the debt, without accompanying it with any proposition for an additional tax upon the land, there would have been frankness and efficiency, at any rate. As it is, the measure has a character of *furtiveness* about it, which nobody likes. You clearly see what lawyers call the *animus furandi*, accompanied with clamorous professions of "*sacred good faith*." I say that *good faith to the nation* demands a taking away of more than a half of the interest of the debt; and this was ably insisted upon by Mr. MATHIAS ATTWOOD, though that gentleman differs from me as to the proportion. He made the only sensible speech throughout

the whole of the debates upon the subject. He noticed the great breach of national faith took place in 1819, and that, too, against the able remonstrances of this very Mr. ATTWOOD.

It has been said that the fundholders lost at one time as much as they have gained since that time; and this has been asserted over and over again upon the authority of Mr. MUSHETT, who published his tables to show it, in 1821. MUSHETT, who fell into the error of the stupid or cunning, and the babbling Ricardo, took as his criterion the *market price* compared with the *mint price* of gold; and this was the groundwork of the stupid bill of Peel, in 1819, which has produced more mischiefs to this country than all the seven plagues of Egypt would have produced if we had had them all at one time, and the bare name of which being stuck to a man, is quite sufficient to characterize him for life. This error of Mushett was the grand groundwork of that bill. It deluded the land-owners to their ruin; and it has kept the country in a state of constant and gradual decline, till all the world sees its weakness, its nakedness, and its shame.

But, suppose the criterion of RICARDO and Mushett to have been true. How stands the account even according to MUSHETT's own showing? The sublime seigneur, LORD ELLENBOROUGH, with hair so nicely curled, and arms and waist so pretty and so small; this sublime seigneur, in answer to LORD CARNARVON, who had been hammering away about the advantages which the fundholders had derived from the change in the currency made by Peel's stupid bill; this sublime seigneur advised the noble Lord to read a little book published by Mr. Mushett; and observed, that he thought some copies of the book ought to be bought at the public expense and distributed amongst their Lordships. Well, then, this is a book of great authority, it seems. And what does this book show? Why, adopting Mushett's criterion, so unjustly in favour of the fundholders, it makes the account *square* up to the year 1821; when, observe, the fund-holders were *gaining* at

the rate of about twenty per cent! Pray mark this; for they have been *gaining at the same rate ever since*, except during the time that the small paper money was out, in 1824 and 1825. Thus, with the exception of those two years, they have been receiving twenty per cent. more than they ought to have received from 1821 unto the present day, even according to the showing of Mushett himself. They have been receiving more than a million and a half a year, which is more than they ought to have received, even according to this account, which is all in their favour; and yet an outcry is raised, and a ministry are to be driven from their posts, if they persevere in taking eight hundred thousand pounds a year from these fundholders!

Ah! my Lord Grey, look at the motto to this Register! Look at the words that I addressed to your Lordship in 1822! Do look, I pray you, at the whole of that letter which I inserted in the last Register! Do, pray, believe that your situation is precisely that of the old French government in 1789! It did not *possess the power of lightening the burdens of the people, without the assistance of the people themselves*; and it did not call the people to its assistance till it was *too late*. You have yet time to call the people to your aid; but you have but one way under heaven of accomplishing that object; and that is, by giving them short parliaments, extensive suffrage, and the ballot. You have, however, something to do in the *money way*, before I, for one, shall ever give my consent to the taking of one single farthing from the interest of the debt. You have, 1. To scratch out all pensions not merited by well-known public services. 2. You have to do away with every sinecure of every description. 3. You have to take away the grants and allowances, and all useless salaries, and take away every charge not useful for the public service. 4. You have to give us less than five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and less than two Admirals to every ship of the line. 5. You have to reduce the dead-weight to reward for services actually rendered, and to lop off all that is given to widows

and children belonging to this immense body. 6. You have to reduce the standing army in time of peace, break up the academies and sell the barracks. 7. You have to bring the crown lands to book, not forgetting Dungeness Light-house and its disinterested hero. 8. Finally, you have to make at least a new distribution of the property of the church, as it is called; to restore that property to its ancient and legitimate uses; or to take it altogether, and apply it to national and secular uses. These things you have to do, my Lord Grey, before you will ever have the consent of this nation to take one farthing from the interest of the debt, in any shape, or under any name or guise.

It is no longer ago than last winter that Sir James Graham showed that one hundred and thirteen men, almost all of them belonging to the two Houses of Parliament, received *six hundred and fifty thousand* pounds a year amongst them. We know well that there are about fifty Bishops, who have from ten to forty thousand pounds a year each. Take them at an average of fifteen thousand (and that is very low); and here are seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year amongst fifty men. And, while we have these facts staring us in the face, will the nation hear of a proposition for deducting a part of the incomes which the widows and orphans and aged people have in the funds! Can we think of doing such a thing as this; and can you think of doing it under the pretence of easing the burdens of the people, while you make us pay the pensions to LADY MORNINGTON, to the sister of CANNING, and his widow, to the children of Fox, and to women innumerable who never can have rendered any service to the country!

You have begun at the wrong end. A friend of mine, very partial in his opinion of my writings, confines himself to this single compliment: "Cobbett always begins at the right end;" a compliment which I have always endeavoured to deserve. You have begun at the wrong end. You have begun with the many instead of beginning with the few: you have begun with

that which the folly of former Ministers and Parliaments, and particularly their stupid malignity against me, have made the people regard as sacred, never to be touched; and you have left untouched every-thing on which the people look with a grudging eye. Sir James Graham's pensioners and sinecure people, and the enormous revenues of the bishops and the clergy, are great marks on which all eyes are fixed. The fundholders, though they, like Queen Bess's paupers, are, in reality, "*every-where*," are seen by nobody; are, in many instances, as poor as the rest of us; they receive what they receive unseen; they are unenvied, unhated; they receive what is regarded as their due; and the benefit to the nation in taking from them it would be difficult to make the mass understand, while their complaints would be heard in every town and village in the kingdom; and every-where the contrast would be drawn between their treatment and that of the fat pensioners and the clergy. There is no argument by which a deduction from the funds could be justified, or palliated, which would not apply with ten-fold force to a total sweeping away of the pension and sinecure lists, and to all the other reductions of which I have spoken above; and this argument would be applied, too, by every man in the kingdom who had one spark of spirit in him. If you had begun at the right end; if you had taken the Norfolk petition and conned it over well; if you had acted upon that petition with firmness, still the fundholder people would have opposed you; but what would their opposition have been, and what would it be now were you to propose a real reform of the Parliament? Would you have fallen down at once before this combination? Would you have been driven out of a deliberate plan without even a sign of resistance?

We are now come to this point: something must give way: you cannot make the funds give way: the labouring classes *will have meat and bread*; and therefore something else must give way. That something seems to be *the church*; and it is truly curious

to observe that the eyes of all the people seem now to be directed to this resource. There is no one cries out against the funds; not a single petition is there for taking a penny from the thirty millions a year which these funds cost, while, from one end of the country to the other, the air rings with the cries of the people to take away the property of the church, in some shape or other. How like the state of things in France, in the year 1789! The people there did not seem to know that there was any-thing unjust or any-thing burdensome in the debt; but, as soon as their tongues were let loose, began to find out that the church was the cause of all their poverty and sufferings. To work they went, therefore, and took that property to begin with; and this the clergy most richly deserved, for having favoured the government and upheld it in contracting the debt. In speaking of the seizure of the church property in France, BURKE gives the following warning to England:—"Nations are wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of *boundless debt*. Public debts, which at first were a security to governments, by interesting many in the public tranquillity, are likely in their excess to become the means of their subversion. If governments provide for these debts by heavy impositions, they perish by becoming odious to the people. If they do not provide for them, they will be undone by the efforts of the *most dangerous* of all parties; I mean an extensive discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed." These words are well worthy of the attention of the landowners of England. Between these two dangerous rocks the Ministry and the aristocracy of England now stand. The heavy impositions have made the people discontented with the Government. The Government has just made a slight attempt to get rid of the necessity of these heavy impositions; and it has just had a sample of the efforts of this "*most dangerous of all parties*." Here are the two dangers between which the Government stands. To save itself from the former,

it must greatly lighten the impositions; and to save itself from the latter, it must *call in* the people and have them heart and hand with it; but, to do this, it has no earthly means but to make a Reform of the Parliament that shall satisfy the people.

Things are now, however, arrived at that pass, that the debt cannot be touched without touching the church, and without touching the church the *first* of the two. The cry is so loud and so general, that until the church be touched, and pretty rudely, the people will never hear of touching the debt. For my part, I shall always protest against it, and oppose it with all my might; not because I think the claims of the present fundholders just; but because it will be good for the country to repeal, or greatly to change, the church establishment. The debt is the sheet-anchor of our hope for the obtaining of our rights. It secures to us the making of some efforts at last to take from us the other heavy burdens. I would a million times rather that all the interest of the debt should remain undiminished, than that it should be swept away, and the army, the thousands of generals, the academies, the barracks, the dead weight, the pensions, the sinecures, the parson magistrates, Sturges Bourne's bills, the new trespass law, and the transportation-for-poaching law remain. A million times rather let it all continue than see the debt swept away and the rest of the system remain. We are much better off now than we should be if we had no debt and had all the rest.

The question now is, What is next to be tried? and whether the Ministry who are unable to carry this little point, will condescend to niggle along from expedient to expedient, without attempting any great and radical change. Mr. Attwood well observed, that we were a pretty object for Europe to contemplate, trying to reduce taxes for the relief of the nation, at a moment when common prudence, decent pride, called upon us to show ourselves ready for war. However to this I always said it must come: to this it is come; and

there is no way of extricating ourselves from the difficulty other than by calling in the people to lend their aid in making a total change in the whole of this system of sway. To preserve the "*institutions of the country*" is become a sort of slang. It seems to come out of the mouth like the hum of a new tune. Agreed, with all my heart. I am for preserving the institutions of the country; but then comes the question: What are the institutions of the country? According to my notions, mortgages on the labour of the child in the cradle, bands of villains met to gamble in Change-alley, bank-notes made a legal tender as occasion may require, exchequer bills, loans and scrip, and bonuses, by which beggars are made gentlemen in twenty-four hours; according to my notions, these are no institutions of the country. Justices of the peace, removable at the pleasure of the Crown, authorised to inflict pecuniary and even corporeal punishment without trial by jury, and with such trial empowered to transport men for their lives; these justices very often, too, being clergymen of the church, or officers in the army or navy. According to my notions, these are not institutions of the country. I do not regard the new trespass law, Sturges Bourne's bills and the transportation for poaching law, as institutions of the country, any more than I regard a band of foreigners upon the pension-list as being an institution of the country. Can I have read Blackstone, and regard a standing army in time of peace, and barracks and military academies and dead-weights, as so many "*institutions of the country!*" Why, then, I suppose I must regard the hired overseers, the making of men and women to draw carts like beasts of burden, the putting of men up to auction like negroes in the colonies, the making of labourers live upon a pound and a quarter of bread, and a halfpenny a day for food and clothing, the making of them live upon potatoes or starve; I suppose I must regard these as "*institutions of the country!*" Faith, but I will not so regard them! I know them to be all departures from the in-

stitutions of my country. I know them to have set aside, in their several ways, the institutions of my country; and I am for restoring to my country those institutions.

In conclusion, let it be observed, that the landowners have now received a blow which is only a foretaste of that which is to come. They will be afraid to stir again. By taking off the taxes upon malt and hops, they would give a good blow in return; but to do this they have not the courage. They will droop down, suffer the thing to go on, still be afraid to take the people by the hand; till at last, too feeble to resist, even if they had the courage, their fate will be very much like that of the old landowners of France. I hope, or rather I wish, that it may be the contrary of this, but, as I well know that this must be the end, unless the people be appealed to by a real and radical reform, I am very much afraid that the evil will come in its full magnitude.

This is the light in which I view the fate of this apparently trifling attempt on the part of the ministers. In itself the defeat is nothing. But it says this to the landowners: Fires or no fires, rents or no rents, tithes or no tithes, you shall pay the interest of the debt in full tale, and in sovereigns of full weight and fineness. This is what the fundholders say, while the middle and lower class are calling for a reduction of rents and an abolition of tithes. Such is the state of the landowners of England; such is what they are doomed to endure for their conduct of the last forty years, and particularly for the contempt and scorn and malice with which they have repaid the advice which has been so disinterestedly given them by

WM. COBBETT.

MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD

AND

HIS PARSONS.

To the Readers of the Register.

Kensington, 16th February, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

THE conduct of this "most noble" fellow and his reverend co-operators, forms

only one link in a chain of efforts to implicate me in those acts of violence to which the labourers of the southern and western counties were urged, not by writings or by speeches, but by more than half-starvation. The country was in a state of alarm; there were the most powerful motives amongst the landowners and the farmers to cause it to be believed, by the rest of the community, that the labourers had not been driven by hunger to commit the acts, but had been stimulated to them by others. First, the stimulators were Frenchmen, and SCOTT ELDON actually told the Lords, that he was informed, that "one county jail was full of foreigners;" and the famous tax-eater, LORD SIDNEY, told the people of Kent, in an address, published in the newspapers, that the French were doing this in order to devastate England; a charge which the French aristocrats have retaliated, by asserting that the fire-setters in that country are paid by the English! This charge against foreigners was, however, soon dropped, and was followed by the story about "domestic conspirators" assembled in London, and sending emissaries about the country, in gigs, curricles, landaus, post-chaises, or on horse-back. This story being laughed at by the people in London and in the great towns, a more secret agency, or stimulus, was sought for; and as TRUTH afforded no clue to any such instigation, LIES were resorted to; and as I had, for many years, been complaining of the cruel treatment of the farm-labourers, I (all other sources having failed) was pitched upon as the cause of all the mischief, especially as I had recently been lecturing in parts of KENT and SUSSEX. This was, too, a fine opportunity for paying me off for old scores; for the Protestant Reformation, and for my other hard blows, especially those at the Parsons: and there clearly was a simultaneous assault meditated, that should either destroy my life, or stop my pen, or, which was thought most likely, TO MAKE ME FLEE THE COUNTRY.

The plan of the attack was laid, and the attack begun, by that MOST BLOODY

of all bloody publications, the BLOODY OLD TIMES newspaper, which has always been the herald of blood, as I shall show, another time, by reference to its bloody columns. Within six months this bloody paper delivered over the *Belgian leaders* "to the hands of the executioner," not foreseeing that they would finally triumph. It called, and it alone called, for the *special commissions*. It asserted that DYKE, who was hanged at MAIDSTONE, *confessed his guilt to the parson*; and DYKE maintained his *innocence* to the last moment of his life, which he said had been sworn away. This bloody paper did all it could to insure the destruction of the two MASONS, in Hampshire, by representing them as *seditionously inclined*, and as having become so from being *constant readers of Cobbett's Register*. It was this bloody old paper (which will soon get a blow in the diminution of the stamp duties) which began the attack. It affected to pity the poor deluded creatures in the country; but fell furiously on those arch instigators, "COBBETT and CARLILE," though it knew well that we had not the smallest connexion on earth with each other, and though it knew that I had combatted, and, indeed, destroyed, what I deemed, the most reprehensible of all the publications of Mr. CARLILE. But, Mr. CARLILE's name was odious to great numbers of people. Therefore, this bloody newspaper began its efforts by associating my name constantly with his, just as the parsons do in all their publications against me, of which they have put forth not less than two score at the least. What part the PRESTON Cock acted at that time, and in co-operation with the bloody old *Times*, I shall have to mention another time, when I come to relate the curious circumstances of his *long visit to the Home Office*, and of his going immediately afterwards to the Rotunda and ORDERING THE TRI-COLOURED FLAG TO BE PULLED DOWN; circumstances wholly unknown to the good honest fellows of Preston, and luckily unknown, or the House and the town would not have had to enjoy the

fun which they are now enjoying from the narratives of his provincial excursions, and his classical allusions to "Greece, Sparta, and Athens."

The bloody old *Times* having thrown out a *general invitation* to imputations and accusations against me, soon had to publish a striking proof, as it called it, under the title of "CONFESSIONS OF THOMAS GOODMAN."

The unfortunate young man, Thomas Goodman, who was convicted of setting fire to the barn of Mr. Alderton, at Battle, and *sentenced to death*, has made a full confession of his guilt, and attributes his untimely end to that notorious demagogue, William Cobbett, who, you may remember, delivered a public lecture at Battle some time ago, in which he told his auditors that unless the farmers would consent to pay better wages to their labourers, the fires which were then going on in Kent might also take place in this county, and that the boundary between the counties was but imaginary. It is a singular fact that in less than a fortnight after the delivery of this lecture the first fire—namely, that which broke out in the night of the 3d of November, took place in the parish of Battle; and it is still more singular, that the property destroyed on that occasion belonged to Mr. Charles Emery, landlord of the George Inn, at Battle, who had refused Cobbett the use of his principal room for the purpose of delivering his lecture. The unfortunate young man, who is only 18 years of age, confesses that he was stirred up by the words of Cobbett, that *his brain* was nearly turned; and that he was under the impression that nothing but the destruction of property by fire at night would effect that species of revolution, the necessity of which was so strongly enforced by the arch lecturer. Of the eight fires which took place in the parish of Battle, within one month, the unfortunate convict has confessed that five of them were occasioned by his own hand. The following are the words of the culprit with reference to Cobbett, as taken down this morning, in the presence of the REV. HENRY JOHN RUSH, CURATE OF CROWHURST, Sussex:—

"I, Thomas Goodman, never should af thought of doing aney sutch thing if Mr. Cobbett had never given aney lectures, i believe that their never would beaun aney fires or mob in Battle nor maney other places if he never had given aney lectures at all."

When this appeared, I declared my belief that it was a lie from the beginning to the end; that it was a mere invention, if not of the *Bloody Old Times*, of somebody else; and you, my friends, will agree with me that it appears rather strange that this PARSON RUSH should

get to Goodman; the former being the curate of a country village, having no connexion whatever with the prison in which the condemned man was confined. My remarks on this bloody publication, and the general discredit into which it at once fell, produced another and more formal attempt to fix the instigating of Goodman upon me. The poor silly fellow, who is an orphan, without any parent to protect or advise him, had, before the thirtieth of December, been removed from Lewes, where he was condemned, to Horsham, there to be hanged. In the jail of the latter place, three Magistrates went to him, and the result of the visit was as follows:—

The three undersigned visiting Magistrates of Horsham jail, having seen in the *Courier* newspaper, Mr. Cobbett's remarks upon the confession of Thomas Goodman, under sentence of death for arson, from an anxious wish to elicit the truth, went to see the unfortunate prisoner on the 30th of December, who being questioned as to whether he had any enmity against the person whose rick he had set fire to, declared he bore no malice against him, but that he would state what induced him to act in this manner; and when asked whether he would commit this to paper, he proceeded to write the following statement in our presence, without any dictation or suggestion from us:—

WALTER BURRELL, }
HENRY TREDCROFT, } Magistrates.
FRANCIS S. BLUNT, }

“ I Thomas Goodman once heard of one Mr. Cobbit going A Bout gaving out lectures at length he came to Battel and gave one to them and their was a gret number of peopel came to hear him and I went he had verrey long conversation concerning the state of the country and tilling them that they was verrey mutch impose upon and he said he would show them the way to gain their rights and liberals (liberties) and he said it would be verrey Proper for every man to keep gun in his house espesely young men and that they might prepare themselves in readiness to go with him when he called on them and he would show them which way to go on and he said that peopel might expect firs their as well as others places.

“ This is the truth and nothing But the truth of A deying man.

“ THOMAS GOOMAN.”

Written before us, { WALTER BURRELL,
30th Dec. 1830, { H. TREDCROFT,
FRANCIS SCAWEN BLUNT.

This was faithfully published in the bloody *Old Times*; my refutation of it,

my exposure of the whole thing, which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 5th of January, and in the *Register* of the 8th of January, satisfied every body of the falsehood and the baseness of the charge. Nevertheless, the bloody *Old Times* did not desist, but on the 9th of January, I think it was, it published a third confession. The second was an enlargement and great improvement on the first; but the third was an improvement indeed! It was as follows, together with the bloody *Old Times* introduction to it.

“ We understand that the confessions made voluntarily by *Bushby* and *Goodman* are of the utmost importance. That of Goodman, (a part of which has already transpired) we are enabled to print, omitting only, that we *frustrate not the ends of justice*, the names of parties whom he implicates to a certain extent. A similar reason induces us for the present to withhold entirely the confession of *Bushby*.

CONFESSION.

“ I Thomas Goodman under sentence of death aged twenty years Bread and born in Battel hoop maker By trade had been working the last year and A half for Mrs Eldridge in Battel and had lately 15s. a weak i hird of one Mr. Cobbit going a bout gaving out lectures—at length he came to Battel and gave one their and their was a great number of People came to hear him and I went to and he had a great deal of conversation concerning the states of the peopel and the country tilling them that they were verrey mutch impose upon and he would tell them how to get the better of it or they would some be starved he said it would be verrey Proper for everrey man to keep a gun in his house espesely young men and that they might Prepare them selves in readiness to go with him When he called on them and he would shew them the way to get their rights and liberals [liberties] and he said that the Farmers must expect there would be Firs [fires] in Sussex and in Battel as well as other Places—and is conversation was all as sutch to inflame the Peopels minds they thinking that he would be A friend to them wich made A verrey great imprision on me and so inflame my mine and i from that time was determined to set stacks on fire and sone afterwards their was three firs in Battel and that same night the last fire was at the Corsbam whent and set fire to Mr. B. Watts is stack with A candle and lantern and some few days afterwards i was standing A talking to three more Persons there came A verrey gentle man of horeback and he rode up to us and said why you have had A fire hear i said yes we have he said well how do Peopel seame to like theas firs or do they seame eneway

"Alarmed at them i said yes they do but some of them are verrey mutch harden in it and think their will be no more he said i am sorry that they should think so Becaus they have but gust [just] made A beginning he ask Wether we had hird of any Person being taken in Battle that day on suspicion of theas firs i said i did not know he ask if we though [thought] the Poor Peopel would assist to find thos Persous out that Set theas places on fire if the farmers was to gave them 2s. a day we said we did not know and he seamed so verrey mutch Pleased a bout theas firs he stopt a haf a nower his hole conversation was as sutch he was person well drest and verrey good horse new saddel and Bridel Wich made more imprission on my mind and some little time after i was at a Publick house in Battel wich Mr. B—— occupies their was several Peopel their Which among them their was one —— and —— I new both verrey well i whent out and they came after me and son fell into conversation concerneng theas firs had been —— said he wish some one would set fir to the Premises of Mr. —— and Mr. —— said he would do it if he could do it Privat —— said he would make one to help he said he would go with me to set Muster Watts his bildings on fir if i would go i said if i did any sutch thing i should do it by myself.

"THOMAS GOODMAN."

Upon this the bloody thing observed, that Goodman had been cautioned that any-thing which he might say would produce no alteration in his fate. And then it adds: "The *great importance* of Goodman's confession speaks for itself. We hope, and are assured, that it received the due consideration of the Government;" though, observe, it had just before said that his confession was to make no alteration in his fate! Soon after this the *Bloody Old Times* had *great pleasure* in announcing "that the life of this poor deluded young man was to be spared; but that *double vengeance* ought to fall on the heads of Carlile and Cobbett." My readers, look at these three confessions; see how they go on improving; observe what a tissue of lies they are; then bear in mind that this man, who confesses that he *set five fires*, was spared, while the young man, nineteen years of age, was hanged, at Winchester, for *knocking down Bingham Baring*. Far, however, be it for me to lament that the author, or reputed author, of this tissue of lies was not

put to death; I rejoice exceedingly that I was the cause of saving his life, which I saw I should do, by the *dilemma* in which I placed all the parties the moment the first confession appeared. "Now," said I, "this story of the confession is *true*, or it is a *lie*; then the poor young man (who is an orphan, and who has no soul that will be permitted to visit him or speak to him except in the presence of the jailor) has spoken truth, or he has been prevailed upon to speak *falsehood*. If the whole story be a lie, or the confession be believed to be false, then what a shameful thing here is with regard to me! And if the story of the confession be true, and the confession be believed, WILL THEY STILL HANG THIS POOR YOUNG MAN! Let the parson answer that!" This was a devil of a dilemma. To spare a man who confessed that he had set five fires, while another was hanged, in the same town, for setting one fire, and when another was hanged for knocking down Bingham Baring; to spare this five-fire man, under these circumstances, did seem pretty difficult; but, then, to hang him after the works of the Reverend Rush and Walter Burrell and Co., would have been to proclaim to the whole nation, in words written in blood, THAT THE ACCUSATION AGAINST COBBETT WAS FALSE! Exceedingly do I rejoice, however, that this young man was spared; and it is not impossible that he may yet live, and come to me and give me the true history of these confessions. I rejoice that the accusation against me saved his life. Nobody believes the accusation to be true: every-body sees clearly that it was false from the beginning; but, for the sake of saving his life, I would not only have the confession be believed to be true, but would rather have it be believed that I actually gave him the pipe and the matches and went with him to set the fire. I would rather have that be believed of me by every man and woman in the kingdom, than that this young man's life should not have been spared. I thank the Ministers for spar-

ing it, and do not care a straw about their motive for the act.

I have not room to point out all the curious things connected with these confessions; but, I pray you to read them all attentively; to observe how they go on improving; to observe that the last brings in a whole batch of accused persons, but that *blanks* are put instead of *their* names, while *my* name is always put at full length; to observe, also, that the pretended instigation which Goodman received from me was, according to his own confession, real or pretended, *in the presence of a great number of persons*; to observe that the "REVEREND" Rush lives very near to Battle, and that the three justices, Burrell and Co., are landowners and persons of great authority in and round Battle, one of them being, I believe, a banker in Battle itself; yet while they are affecting to believe Goodman, or are, at least, circulating his confessions, they produce not one of the about four hundred people in whose presence the pretended instigation took place. They produce not one breath from any of the four hundred persons, except from one who has a rope round his neck, and who has been guilty of five crimes, each of which, according to their view of the matter, deserves to be punished with death. Will any-body believe that these justices and this parson did not think it worth while to try to find out whether there were others to confirm the declaration of Goodman? Nay, do not Burrell, Tredcroft, and Blunt certify, under their hands, that they went to see the condemned Goodman from an "ANXIOUS WISH TO ELICIT THE TRUTH?" And what did Goodman tell them? Why, that he went to hear the lecture of Mr. Cobbett, at Battle, and that there "*was a gret number of peopel*" present at the lecture along with him. Very well, then, they had only to ride over to Battle, and there "*elicit the truth*" in a moment, which truth they were so very "*anxious*" to elicit! And who is fool enough to believe that they did not go to Battle, aye, and to Burwash and Seddlescomb and Crowhurst,

and all the villages round about? Who is fool enough to believe that they did not do this; and, above all things, who is fool enough to believe that they would have forbore to publish the corroboration, if they had obtained it!

To this I shall, upon this part of the subject, add only these never-to-be-forgotten facts: FIRST, that GOODMAN, who had SET FIVE FIRES, and who said that he had been *defuded by Mr. Cobbett*, had his LIFE SPARED; and that COOK, who KNOCKED DOWN BINGHAM BARING (without seriously hurting him), and who *denied that he had ever known any-thing of Mr. Cobbett*, was HANGED! That is ENOUGH! What atrocious villain it was, what *blood-hunting tyrant* it was, *who put to poor Cook the question*, that drew forth this *denial*, I do not yet know; but the denial was stated by the bloody *Old Times*. I will find the blood-hunting tyrant out, if I can; but, here is enough to show what efforts were making to *get at me*, in some way, or in *any way*!

In short, nothing is clearer than that this whole affair arose out of an anxious desire to destroy me, or to fill me and my family with alarm, so as to drive me off and put me *hors de combat*. Just at this same time, while the Bloody *Old Times* and the Sussex parsons and justices were at work, TREVOR *accused* me in the BIG HOUSE. I shall not go into the nonsense which the reporters ascribed to him on the occasion: suffice it to say, that if he had any rational object in view, it was to induce the Attorney-General to prosecute me for sedition; upon the ground, especially, that my writings instigated the labourers to *set the fires*. What this man said, or, rather, what was published under his name, is of no more consequence to any of us than are the croakings of a toad, or the brayings of an ass, other than as it shows the *simultaneous movement* which stupidity duly mixed with malignity, were making at the time here referred to. The London press, which had looked very quietly on, as long as the attacks were confined to the *Bloody Old Times* and its *provincial whelps*, and of the

parsons so pious, and the justices so "anxious to elicit the truth," became alarmed at the *works of Trevor*, seeing that those works tended of necessity to some legislative measure *relative to the press*, which they knew, though it might be *intended*, like the bills of 1819, solely for me, must be general in its operation, things not having arrived quite at that pass to pass an act levelled at me by name, which, besides its uselessness, besides the impossibility of enforcing it, would have exposed the bill passers to everlasting ridicule mixed with reproach. The London press, therefore, in general, censured and ridiculed the effort of *TREVOR*; and some of the papers insisted that there was an intention to assail the press through my sides; and therefore they joined me in showing that the affair of Goodman was a thing hatched up from beginning to end.

It was just when the *Bloody Old Times* and all the stupid parties were cock-a-whoop, that the Marquis of BLANDFORD, that this "most noble" person, wrote to a Parson in Norfolk, that I "had absconded in consequence of a connexion with the fires having been traced to me." This letter of the most noble fellow was looked upon as containing most authentic intelligence, coming from such *high authority*. It was so pleasing, too, to the minister of peace and of charity to whom it was sent, and whose piety has been rewarded by a *couple of good fat livings*, that he lost not a moment in spreading it about amongst his brethren of his peace-loving, pious, and charitable calling. Two of these conveyed the glad tidings to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR, who, being in town about a fortnight afterwards, communicated the information to me. The object was to bring the lie home to the "most noble" Marquis; to bring the foul libel home to him, and for a particular reason that I shall by-and-by have to mention. A reverend fellow of the name of SLAPP was he that had communicated the agreeable intelligence to the subaltern reverends who had communicated it to Sir THOMAS BEEVOR. I instructed my

attorney, Mr. FAITHFULL, of Staple's Inn, to write first to these reverends; the name of one was HENRY HOWARD; and that of the other BEEVOR. I did not care a straw for the libel; but I wanted to get at the "most noble" Marquis.

From HOWARD Mr. Faithfull received a sort of hubble-bubble answer; but without an acknowledgment of having got the intelligence from SLAPP. Mr. BEEVOR's answer was honest and direct, and in the following words:—

Shropham, Larlingford, Jan. 4th, 1831.

SIR,—In reply to your letter, asking from whom I heard the report alluding to Mr. Cobbett, and which you have learnt from Sir Thomas Beevor was mentioned by me, I refer you to the REV. THOMAS SLAPP, Old Buckenham, Norfolk, as the individual from whom I heard such report.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

E. RIGBY BEEVOR.

E. C. Faithfull, Esq.,
Staple Inn, Holborn.

Upon receiving this letter, Mr. Faithfull wrote to SLAPP as follows:—

SIR,—Mr. William Cobbett (author of *The Political Register*), having heard from Sir Thomas Beevor, that a report existed that he had absconded in consequence of some of the fires which had lately taken place having been traced to him; by his direction I saw Sir Thomas Beevor, who informed me he heard the report from the Rev. E. R. Beevor, to whom I immediately wrote, requesting him to inform me from whom he heard it; and yesterday I received a letter from him, a copy of which I send you on the other side.

I am instructed to inform you, that, unless you immediately contradict this infamous report, or favour me with the *name of your authority* (if any you have), my instructions are to commence proceedings against you without further notice; and, in order to save the trouble of personal service of process on you, I will thank you for the name and address of your attorney, to whom I may deliver process on your behalf.

I am, &c.,

E. C. FAITHFULL.

To the Rev. Thos. Slapp.

To this letter Mr. Faithfull received the following answer:—

Jan. 13, 1831.

SIR,—Having been absent from home during the last few days, your letter, bearing date the 6th instant, has remained unanswered longer than would otherwise have been the case. I have now to inform you, that the Marquis of Blandford told me, by letter from the House of Commons, that a report, which

he had heard from several Members of the House, existed the evening he wrote, that Mr. Cobbett had absconded.

I may also add that *another noble lord* stated in my presence at a public dinner last week, that this report was *very general in London* at the period in question.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. P. SLAPP.

E. C. Faithfull, Esq.

Having now got the proof of the libel of the Marquis, or the means of proving that SLAPP was a liar, I wrote to the former the following letter, which I published in the Register of the 29th of January :—

Bolt-Court, Jan. 27th, 1831.

MY LORD,

I have been informed that, a few weeks ago, your Lordship, by letter, told a Clergyman of the Church of England, that the *guilt of setting some of the fires had been brought home to me*, and that, in consequence, *I had absconded*. The object of this present letter is, to request your Lordship to have the goodness to inform me whether you ever did communicate, in the manner above-mentioned, such information; and to apprise you, at the same time, that this letter will be published in the next Register, and also any answer that your Lordship may be pleased to give thereto.

I am, your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Marquis of Blandford.

To this letter I received the following answer :—

January, 29th, 1831.

SIR,—I have never stated "that the Guilt of setting some of the Fires had been brought home to you."—My statement was as follows: "There is a Report that some connexion with the Fires has been traced to Cobbett, and that he has absconded."—I have only to add that this Report was very general in the House of Commons and in the different Club Houses on the day on which I added this Postscript to the letter addressed to the Reverend Gentleman you have alluded to.

I am Sir, your most obedient servant,
BLANDFORD.

Now, my friends, you have all the case before you. The parson did not like a showing up in a court of justice, which I certainly would have given him, for the sake of the cloth; and, if I do not give the Marquis such a showing up (and I do not say that I will not yet), it is because I despise him and his report too; otherwise I would teach

him, that the law regards, as reason regards, the *handing about of a lie* to be *to tell a lie*. A man is not to shelter himself against the charge of lying and slandering by saying, or even proving, that the lies and slanders were current in other people's mouths. If I were to say of a man that he was a nasty, lazy, squandering ass, who had made himself a beggar by his gambling; had been chased off the turf as a black-legs, and had turned patriot merely because he had nothing left to lose; if I were to say that this was *reported* of a man, even though I brought my authority, which this most noble fellow does not, I am to be answerable for the statement, to be sure, as completely as if it had originated with myself. The character of men would be in a pretty situation, indeed, if slanderers were to be screened by a justification of this sort. The parson is open to prosecution as well as the most noble Marquis; for he handed about the calumny himself: and were it not for the condition of forgiveness implied in the second paragraph of Mr. Faithfull's letter, I would pull up the parson yet, and go down to the Assizes at Norwich, and paint this minister of peace and charity in his true colours.

The circumstance of the report being "*very general*" in the House of Commons and in the different Club-houses, only makes the retailing of it so much the worse. Of the House of Commons I shall attempt no description; but the other places are called Hells; and these were pretty places to pick up a slanderous report to be sent of to a gabbling Parson-justice, that he might send it off all over a great county, an object which he set about accomplishing with all possible speed! Mind, too, the opening of the letter, to clap the thing in a *postscript*; so like a gossiping, malignant parson's wife; so like any-thing but a gentleman; and when the public are informed, that more than six weeks had not passed over the writer's head between the writing of this slanderous postscript to the Parson and his *writing to me*, the man whom he was slandering, a most friendly letter, *expressing a desire to co-operate with me in the cause*

of *parliamentary reform*, and that, too, without my having written to him on the subject ! When the public are told this, I may safely leave it to them to characterize the writer.

The main thing to observe upon here is, however, the simultaneous movement that was going on. We have before seen *Bloody Old Times*, the curate of Crowhurst, Walter Burrell and Co., and Trevor and his reporters, all as busy as wasps round a honey-pot ; all in the hum of zealous exertion ; but Blandford and Slapp let us in to the verbal slander that was going on. From those respectable places where the Marquis says that he picked up his slander, I dare say that hundreds upon hundreds of letters went off to the parsons, and other tax-eaters, in every part of the kingdom ; well might the report be very general that I had absconded. Scores of persons came to Bolt-court to inquire about the matter, and were surprised to hear that I was still in England. Men are so prone to believe that that which they wish to happen will happen, that they rush hastily to conclusions ; first deceive themselves by their hopes, and then deceive others by their too eager expectations. By the time that the wish reaches the third or fourth pair of lips, it becomes an accomplished event ; and thus were the fools and the knaves of the Hells deceived by their own stupid malignity. TREVOR's motion was only the outward and visible sign of the secret workings that were going on. I knew this well : I could judge, from the columns of *Bloody Old Times*, what was going on in the Hells and amongst all the tax-eaters ; but I knew that the beasts had deceived themselves, and every gentleman that spoke to me on the subject will say that I treated the machinations with scorn. The stupid beasts did not wish to make any *stir* with me, except the *Bloody Old Times*, which cared nothing about the noise or the odium, so that injury were inflicted on me. The tax and tithe-eaters only wanted me to be silenced, and, above all things, driven out of the country. They had it in their recollection that I was so

driven in 1817 ; and they had a vague hope that I should be frightened to do the same again. They forgot that there were three points in which the circumstances were totally different. **FIRST**, I had then two bondsmen bound in sums of two or three thousand pounds each, for my good behaviour for two years and a half then to come ; and which bonds would have been forfeited by a conviction for libel. **SECOND**, I had, then, seven children, the oldest of them not more than seventeen, and the youngest of them only three. He that was then three is now six feet high ; and, instead of little children to rear up and provide for, I have, by God's blessing and my own industry and care and example, sons to support me. **THIRD**, and greatest of all, I **HAVE NOW DONE MY WORK**. I have written, since the day I stepped on board to go to Long Island, fifteen copyright books, exclusive of the Register. But, above all things, I have, by the **HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION**, which I first resolved upon in Long Island, made it utterly impossible that this church establishment, which has so long been my bitter persecutor, can long remain what it now is. In short, look at the petitions that come pouring in from all parts of the kingdom ; look at the pamphlets ; look even at the newspapers, and put your finger, if you can, on a passage containing real and efficient hostility to the system which I have so detested, and say, if you can, that I am not the maker of the nation's mind. I had only begun my work in 1817 ; I have now *done it*. If I can help it, my carcass shall not be swung from a tree, or crammed into a dungeon to rot ; but either of these shall be done to that carcass before it shall be driven to quit English ground. It is very curious that I have, for a long while, entertained a wish to go to Paris (where I never was), to go to Madrid and to Rome ; and had begun to think of preparations for the journey once or twice ; but always, when it has come to the point, I have shrunk back from it, under the apprehension of affording bloody villains a pretext to say that I had *turned*

my back on my foes. When I went on my tour into Kent and Sussex, last fall, it was settled that my wife should go over to St. Omèr's, and stay awhile with her youngest son, who is there learning to speak French; but, by the time I got to Rochester, I reflected that the ruffians might say that it was my intention to follow; and therefore, though I did it with great sorrow, I wrote home, positively forbidding the journey.

Abscond, indeed! Here is an impudent fellow, to talk of *my* absconding! A pretty set, indeed, in the House of Commons and the Hells, to make *me* abscond! They may *now* pass *suspension of Habeas Corpus Acts, dungeon-ing bills, gagging bills*, they may *put down the press altogether*; they may do what they like, but never shall they make *me* abscond, or quit *English ground*. I have *dome my work*; I have firmly planted the *tree*; and, please God, I will remain to see and taste the fruit: so that Blandford and Slapp, and all the whole crew of tax-eaters and tithe-eaters, may console themselves with the assurance, that, let them or others do what they may, *they will not get rid of me.*

It appears from Slapp's letter that there was another "noble" lord who had heard the same report that Blandford had heard, and who was equally zealous in spreading it about Norfolk. This "noble" babbling slanderer would do better to mind his own affairs, I believe; to go along and set his chuckle-head to work to find out the means of paying the interest of the Debt in full tale, and in sovereigns of full weight and fineness; and find out the means of keeping his own estate, if he have any. And as to Parson Slapp, instead of busying himself with slanders on me, let him set to work and answer *Cobbett's Protestant Reformation; Cobbett's Tenth Sermon; and Cobbett's Two-penny Trash, No. 7*; let him go and answer these, and contrive to make farmers and labourers believe *that he ought to have the tithes of two parishes*: let him do this, and let *justice-of-peacing* alone; or, at any rate, the fellow will do well

to let me alone for the future; for if I hear of any more of his back-biting and eaves-dropping, I will go, yet, and give him a roasting before a judge and jury at Norwich.

WM. COBBETT.

THE GAME-LAWS.

WITH very great pleasure I perceive that LORD ALTHORP has brought in a bill for altering the game-laws, which includes the abolition of that horrible act, which has furnished a subject of my most bitter complaints for about twenty years; namely, the act which enabled the SQUIRES to *transport for seven years*, from their court of quarter-sessions, any man found poaching in the night. Thus were men, claiming an exclusive right to these wild animals; men appointed and removed at the pleasure of the Government, authorized to execute this tremendous power over all their poor neighbours. PEELE disapproved (aye, to be sure!) of this part of the measure. He suggested to Lord Althorp *not to attempt to alter the laws respecting poaching by night*. The Attorney-General wished "that the "right hon. Baronet had not adopted "the tone of discouragement, which "he had made use of. He requested "his noble Friend not to give up that "part of his bill which got rid of the "severe Penal Laws against night "poaching. *The crime was the result "of the laws. The Common Law was "sufficient to punish these offences*, and "they ought not to be left to be punished by an extraordinary law *made by "the landowners, and executed by game "preservers*. The difference between "the mild punishments of a judge at "the assize and of the justices at the "quarter-sessions had a very material "effect in confusing in the minds of the "people the notions of right and "wrong."

Never was any-thing more true, and never any-thing said in a more manly manner, than this. Wiltshire BENETT "denied the frequency of severity on the subject at the quarter-sessions."

Go and look at the calendars, Benett, and then you will see who it is that has filled the jails with poachers. So true it is that the judges have been lenient compared with the justices, that it is not long since they were *abused in both Houses of Parliament for this very lenity*. This law has done more to alienate the working people from the owners of the land, than all the other hardships and cruelties put together. For my part, I have petitioned both Houses of Parliament twice for the repeal of this law: I have always represented it as a source of the greatest danger to the peace of the country: my readers can bear me witness how often I have represented it as the source of everlasting heart-burnings in every village in the kingdom. How many men, fine and able and enterprising men, has this cruel law sent to perish in slavery, or to swing on the ignominious gallows, confounding, as the Attorney-General said, in the minds of the people, all notions of right and wrong, hardening their hearts, and preparing them for acts of atrocious ferocity, whenever the occasion should serve. Hampshire will recollect throughout the present generation, the hanging of the two young men whom Judge Burrowes left there for execution, and whose crime was having resisted game-keepers belonging to Lord Palmerston and Ashton Smith. Resistance, arising solely out of this cruel law, which, as the Attorney-General so well expressed it, was *the cause* of the crimes. The grey hairs of how many fathers and mothers has this law brought in sorrow to the grave! How many widows has it made! How many, good God, how many, fatherless children! And this, too, observe, solely for the preservation of the SPORTS of the rich.

And yet the PRESTON COCK "*did not anticipate that much good would result from the measure!*" I do anticipate much good; and this is one of the very things that I recommended to the ministers in my Register of the 22nd of January, as the *effectual means of putting an end to the fires*. With respect to the other parts of the bill, I have not had time to consider them; but

this part of it is an unequivocal good; and it is valuable too, as showing the really considerate, merciful and benevolent disposition of those who have brought it in. People who live in towns, or who live in the country and are not well acquainted with the habits, propensities, and feelings of the labouring people, can form no idea of the importance of this measure. It is millions, and many millions, of men and of women who will feel grateful for this measure, regarding it as a step on the return to former free and happy days. The county rates will soon feel the effects of it. All men that have any justice in them, when they come to consider it in all its natural effects, will exult in its adoption, and will leave to the Preston Cock the melancholy non-anticipation of any good as the result.

WM. COBBETT.

PRESTON COCK.

THE Parliamentary report, in the *Morning Herald*, of the 15th instant, contains the following passage: "RO-
" TUNDA MEETINGS.—Mr. HUNT,
" in presenting a petition from certain
" persons *meeting at the Rotunda*, said
" that it complained of the conduct of
" the judges on the late commission. He
" felt himself called upon to observe
" that he had been *threatened and de-*
" *nounced* by the party to which the pe-
" titioners belonged, solely because he
" had on a previous occasion disclaimed
" in that House *all connexion with them,*
" or participation in their views. So
" far, however, from being *intimidated*
" by these threats, he now reiterated
" his former assertion, and, should the
" House not protect him, he knew
" very well how to protect himself—(a
" LAUGH)." This "*laugh*" was, as
I am told by a gentleman who was
present, not a horse-laugh nor a merry
laugh, but a sort of a *ha!* laugh, uttered
with the chin twisted, the lips lifted,
and the nose drawn up, as if the olfac-
tory, as well as the risible, nerves had
been affected. This report may be a
fabrication on the part of the reporters,

for any-thing that I know to the contrary; but, I find the thing *published*, and, as a publication, I remark on it. What! the *Preston Cock* call for the *protection* of others, and those others that very body, too, whom he so be-called and so expressed his contempt of, when on his progress from Preston to London! It can never be! It must be an invention of the *reporter*! What! he, who is called the "*Preston Cock*," because, in that town, his flags represented him as a *red game cock*, clapping his wings and crowing, while STANLEY was, upon the same flags, represented as a *yellow dunghill cock, running away*. HE call on the *House for protection*! But, then, as to the *feasibility* of the thing called for, *how* is the House to protect him against the tongues or pens of those whom he, or his *reporter*, chooses, by *name*, to stigmatize in publications, being, or purporting to be, reports of speeches made in that House? He is not "*intimidated*" (ooh! ooh! who-o-ose a-fraid!) and he knows "*very well* how to *defend himself*." Nobody says the contrary; but I do remember that, at a county meeting at Winchester, in 1817, there was a good-for-nothing saucy fellow, under the Grand Jury chamber-window, who, as soon as he began to open his mouth, held up a long wand with a *white feather* tied on at the end of it; and I did not see any-body able "*to protect*" him against that. I did not see any punishment inflicted, or attempted to be inflicted, for that daring *breach of privilege*. As to his *disclaiming all connexion with those petitioners*, and *all participation in their views*, I leave them and him to settle that matter between them, until, at least, I know what their petition contained; and this I beg some one or other of them to have the goodness to let me know *as soon as possible*, as I shall want it for my "*Letter to the people of Preston*," which will be published on the 1st of March, in *No. 9 of the Two-penny Trash*.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolt Court, 17th of Feb. 1831.

PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Feb. 3.

Nothing of consequence in either House.

Feb. 4.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence; but in the HOUSE OF COMMONS,

REFORM.—A good many petitions praying for this measure, and almost all of them desiring that the *ballot* may form a part of it.

CIVIL LIST.—LORD ALTHORP brought forward his plan for the Civil List. He proposed a committee of inquiry into it, so that we shall hear much more of this matter. It will not be forgotten that it was this thing, the Civil List, that bundled out the Duke; and now let us see what his successors would be at with it. Out of a *million of money*, there is a reduction of 20,000*l.* proposed! and not one pension to be touched! I have always said that nothing but a reformed parliament CAN do what is wanted; and now see, then, that I am right. I give one short extract from Lord Althorp's speech. He said—

It is necessary for me to explain the ground on which I do not propose to remove any of the existing pensions, and I will state them shortly. It is certainly true, and no man is more ready to assert it than I am, that many of the pensions on the list are such as ought never to have been granted (hear, hear); but after the best examination I have been able to give the subject, I am able to say that the majority are *merely and purely pensions of charity*. I willingly admit that we have the legal right to put an end to all those pensions; they expire, by law, with the demise of the Crown, and it has no right to renew them. But though we may have a legal right, I doubt if we have an equitable right, to abolish them; because they were undoubtedly always granted on the supposition that the party receiving them obtained them for life. The result of my statement unquestionably is, that there is no immediate saving to the public. When I say that there is no immediate saving, it ought not perhaps to be omitted that there is a saving to the extent of about 20,000*l.*; but I do not put it forward so far as a measure of economy.

Mr. HUME's observations upon this were excellent. He said,—

He should only now say generally, that the

estimate considerably exceeded what he hoped it would have been, and he was satisfied that a great reduction might and ought to be made. Looking at the list of pensions now before the House, he could not find one name in fifty of a person who had ever been at all connected with the crown. That was in itself quite enough to prove the necessity of those pensions coming under the consideration of Parliament every year. He, for one, could not consent to the giving ninety-eight thousand pounds of the public money, to be paid away in pensions at the uncontrolled disposal of the Minister. The noble Lord had, on a former occasion, said that the country could no longer be governed by patronage; he (Mr. Hume) hoped that the noble Lord may also be convinced that it could no longer be governed by corruption. He had said that the greater part of those pensions were, in fact, charitable donations. Now he (Mr. Hume) was of opinion, that if peers were unable to maintain themselves suitably to their rank from their own estates, they ought not to do so upon public charity, but to lay down their titles. (Laughter.) The peerage was instituted by the constitution to stand between the crown and the people; but it was not contemplated by the constitution, that, when unable to keep their places in the state, they should be supported by the people. (Hear.) When the question would come to be discussed in the Committee, he should certainly propose that each individual pension should be examined separately. (Hear, hear.) If he could not effect that examination thoroughly in the Committee, he would do so in the House. Their time could not be better occupied, even should the inquiry occupy them until June. (Laughter.) His view of the subject was supported by law, according to which all pensions cease upon the demise of the crown. Therefore, pledge of the present Government, the law, and the claims of the country, were now all with him. The pensioning, indeed, was said to be charity; but he thought that charity ought to begin at home. (Laughter.) It was the duty of the House to consider that the distresses of the country had been occasioned by the pressure of taxation, of which so great a part was imposed for the maintenance of pauper peers. Who were the fitter objects of the charitable consideration of the House? The distressed people of England, or the peers who had relations rich enough to provide for them? To support such persons with the money of the people was not charity—it was profusion and extravagance. (Hear.) It was a time for Parliament to interfere and put an end to the system. He trusted that Ministers would not allow a false delicacy to prevent them from fulfilling their promises of retrenchment.

Look back once more at the motto, reader. Read that over once more.

Mr. HUNT said, he heard with great pain the statement made by the noble Lord oppo-

site, for he felt that it would occasion deep disappointment to the country at large; he felt that it would disappoint those expectations which the people were entitled to form from the earnest which the present Government held out to the nation. When he spoke of the people, he spoke of those most interested in the matter then under consideration; he spoke of those by whom the means of defraying the expenses of the Civil List were supplied; he spoke of the industrious and useful classes of society—the productive portion of the population, and not the drones by whom every-thing was consumed. In the present moment of deep and overpowering distress, the people were looking up to the new Administration in the hope and confidence, that on their first appearance before Parliament and the public, they would come forward with a proposition for the relief of those wants which it was impossible adequately to describe, and scarcely possible to endure. The Civil List certainly formed but a small portion of the expenditure of the nation; but the proposition of the Government would go forth as an earnest of their intentions, and the decision of the House would go forth as an earnest of its intentions, and of what the country had to expect from both. On the subject of the noble Lord's statement, he did not agree with the hon. Member for Cricklade, that there was any mystification in it—it was, unfortunately, but too clear. He had before that night imagined that it was always the object of Government to mystify matters of that sort, and of every sort connected with the expenditure of the country. He had always given them the fullest credit for mystification; but on that occasion he must do them the justice to say, that they had evinced no disposition to mystify. He trusted that as he was *so young a Member, they would extend to him the indulgence his inexperience required, and give him credit for every wish to avoid, in the delivery of his sentiments, anything approaching towards personal offence, or any want of that respect towards the regulations of the House, which he should be at all times willing to manifest*; but having been sent there by the people, and having been returned in a very extraordinary manner by a great body of the people, without any solicitation on his part, and even without his knowledge, he felt that he should grievously disappoint the expectations which they had a right to form, if he permitted that opportunity to pass without giving expression to the considerations which the conduct of the Government unavoidably suggested. He confessed, it appeared to him, that the whole of the question then before the House had been that night argued as if the people had nothing at all to do with the matter—as though it was a matter entirely between the crown and the House—as though the House were to pay so much money out of their own pockets to the crown—and that there was no such thing in this country as a

people from whose hard earnings alone could the sums under discussion be drawn. He could assure the House that no man was *more sensible than himself how much a friend to his people was the present King*. The King of England *proved that he felt for his people*, while his Ministers had betrayed a very opposite disposition of mind. In substance and effect the noble Lord had told them that there was no relief to be expected on the motion of the Civil List. Now, he desired to learn why it was the former Government had found themselves under the necessity of resigning? What was it that broke up the former Government, and called the present Ministers to fill their places? Nothing more or less than this, that the former Government told the Parliament, and through them the people, that no relief could be afforded through the medium of the Civil List—that in that department there could be no reduction of the public expenditure. (Hear, hear.) It was upon this ground, then, that he affirmed the disappointment which could not fail to be generally felt from the course which his Majesty's Government had thought proper to pursue. It was *not for him* to determine what might be *too much or too little* for the Civil List, but he too well understood, and too painfully felt, what the people were able to pay. If all the Members of that House were to visit the wretched dwellings which recently it had been his distressing lot to enter, they could not but agree with him, that so far from being able to continue the endurance of the heavy burdens laid upon the people, they were in a condition demanding instant and extensive relief. In presenting a petition yesterday he had an opportunity of stating a fact, which had he then known he certainly should have stated, but the knowledge of which only reached him by means of a letter since received. It was, that in one of the districts whence that petition came the working people were not able to earn more on an average than from 4s. 6d. to 5s. a week; and from what he saw at another place in the same county, he could declare most conscientiously, that he readily believed that statement. When he was at Preston one Sunday, instead of going to church (a laugh), he went round to the habitations of a considerable number of the poor persons resident in that town and its vicinity. The highest sum that any of them could earn was 6s. a week. Their breakfast was oatmeal broth—their mid-day meal was potatoes, and oatmeal broth again in the evening; they paid 6l. a year for the wretched hovel they inhabited; 2s. a quarter for taxes; and 2s. a quarter for the clergy, with 1½d. for each chimney in the miserable dwelling. He inquired of them how long since any of them had new clothes, and could not learn that any of them had bought a new garment within the last five years; they never were able to compass anything beyond second-hand clothes, and the poor unhappy beings were so ragged and dirty

that they could not think of going to church. He called upon those who attached so much importance to religious and moral instruction, to ask themselves how they could even indirectly be accessory to a system that kept the people in a condition in which they were unable to attend public worship—so ragged, so miserable, so filthy, so destitute even of soap to clean themselves, that every one of them was compelled to remain at home, and never to visit their parish church. They were taxed in bread, they were taxed in beer, soap, candles, and even in potatoes, and all that with the Pension List, which was now to be submitted to Parliament. They had been told that all of those pensions legally expired at the demise of the crown. Why, then, he would ask, not abolish the whole Pension List, and allow the King to grant all the pensions anew to such only as deserved them? There was not a petition presented to that House which touched upon the subject of the public distress, or the financial difficulties of the country, without calling for a reduction of the Pension List. It was the unanimous demand of the people, that all pensions be abolished except those which had been merited by acknowledged public services. If those petitions were to be definitively answered in the manner in which his Majesty's Government then proposed they should be answered, the people would be driven to despair, from whence the transition to disturbance was easy, and but too certain. *He was not the man to say elsewhere what he should be ashamed to repeat in that House*; but as long as he was a Member of that House he hoped and trusted that he should so conduct himself as never to fail in respect towards any individual Member, or towards the House collectively; (hear, hear, hear;) but with every wish to be governed by such a feeling, he would call upon the House to demand information respecting the property derived from the Duchy of Lancaster. It was the duty of the House to see all that the crown possessed. He was not one of those who called for any reduction of what was necessary for the ease and comfort of the crown, but let the means for promoting that be seen and understood. He was perfectly sensible of the disposition which his Majesty had shown to contribute to the relief of his people. The King was justly so popular that any-thing in which the Ministers failed would be laid at their own door, and not at that of the King; for example, nothing could more merit the gratitude of the people than the manner in which his Majesty had declined the outfit for the Queen of 50,000l. How different was the conduct of the Ministers! the reason their conduct formed a bad earnest for the future was, that it afforded indication that they had no intention of reducing their own salaries. He remembered well when those salaries were raised to the present high amount—when a message came from the Crown recommending an increase of the incomes of the several Members of the Royal Family, and the high Officers of State, on the

ground that every article of life had risen one hundred fold, and that, therefore, the King, the Royal Family, the Judges, and the other Officers of State, could no longer live upon their former incomes—but out of whose pockets were those incomes to come? Out of the pockets of those who themselves were called upon likewise to pay for every necessary of life at an enhanced price. He thought that if that consideration had been mentioned at the time, it would have had the effect of preventing so unjust an arrangement. As matters then stood, he hoped the House would not let it go forth that there was to be no reduction in the Civil List—no reduction in the Pension List. Though it was intimated that there was to be a reduction of one-half in the Pension List, he must take the liberty of saying that, substantially, there was no such reduction. It would be little, then, to the credit or advantage of the present Government, to have it go forth in the papers of the following morning, that just expectations of the people were to be disappointed, and that the present Ministry, like the last, were pursuing a course calculated to drive the people to despair. In making that observation, however, he felt bound in justice to bear testimony to the humanity and wisdom which the Government had recently shown in respect to the unhappy persons who had been tried and found guilty in the disturbed districts—that proceeding was more calculated to restore tranquillity than any other which they could adopt, and he sincerely hoped that these merciful dispositions would be carried still further; under the influence of such a sentiment, he intended on an early day to move an Address to the Crown, praying for a General Amnesty to the whole of those unhappy beings—if such an act as that was passed—(cries of question). He apologised to the House if he had departed in the slightest degree from the precise question under consideration. He should be ashamed of himself if he wilfully travelled out of any question which he might take a share in discussing; at the same time, that he should be still more ashamed of himself—if, sent to that House by poor and honest men, who lived by the sweat of their brow and the toil of their hands, he did not deliver his sentiments manfully and sincerely—if he did not make an humble, though earnest, appeal to his Majesty and to his Ministers on so pressing an occasion."

This is the maiden speech of the member of parliament, to be sure; but from the expressions of extreme humility, the prayers for indulgence on account of the "young member," the great reluctance to give "personal offence," or even offence to the "regulations of the House;" but, above all when "he hoped and trusted that he should so conduct himself as never to

fail in respect towards any individual member, or towards the House collectively;" from all these sayings one would really have thought him a diffident beardless boy, taking his station before his time amongst men.—But, is this the man that made the speech at the dinner at Manchester? Is this the man that swore by the living God what he would do; and swore away 'till the company (good, innocent, believing company!) stood up in rapture, and gave three cheers to hail the oath? Is this the same man? This the man who called them "*rips*," accused them of uttering "*Billingsgate*" outdoing the first of the oyster season; this the man who compared with *blackguards* of *St. Giles's*, low *blackguards*, drunken *blackguards*, those whom he is now so anxious not to offend in any manner, either "*PERSONALLY*" or "*collectively*;" is this the same man? "*Body o me*;" if it be the same, sure he must have been "*planet-stricken*!"

Sir JAMES GRAHAM (who was for some moments inaudible) said, in reference to the speeches of the hon. members for Cricklade and Preston, that he should gladly have the benefit of their assistance, to enable him to determine whether or not the speech of the "hon. member for Durham was intelligible. As to the particular question under consideration, he thought he had a right, on behalf of his colleagues and himself, to claim from hon. members a little indulgence, in the way of time. He thought they were entitled to a little forbearance from those who had expressed so high an opinion of their honesty. Before they decided, something ought to be seen of the measures of the Government. The hon. member for Preston had treated the House with respect; and though recollecting the constituency who sent him there, he did not forget what was due to the House. On that ground, he (Sir James Graham) should treat the hon. member with forbearance."

MORE PENSIONS.—Mr. HUME said there was another class of pensions well deserving the consideration of the House, on account of the abuses of them. The 57th of George III. was passed at a time when there was a great reduction of sinecures, with a view of giving to the Sovereign the power of rewarding his public servants. But the manner in which that Act had been carried into execution had led to great abuses. He found that persons received pensions three times more valuable than their services. He found pensions granted to persons who had 50,000*l.* a year. There was a pension of 1500*l.* a year granted

to the Governor of Madras, who had also a salary of 10,000*l.* a year. That was an abuse never contemplated by the Act. He found that Lord Sidmouth had a pension of 3000*l.* a year, Mr. Lushington 1500*l.*, Mr. Goulbourn 2000*l.*, Mr. Hamilton 1000*l.*, Mr. Croker 1500*l.*, Mr. Courtenay 1000*l.*, Mr. Hobhouse 1000*l.*, Mr. Planta 1000*l.*, and Lord Bexley 3000*l.* The services of these gentlemen were never worth 3000*l.* That was his conscientious opinion. He considered that most of these pensions were a pure waste of the public money, and he appealed to the hon. Member for Dorset, whether the bill had not disappointed him? The hon. Member concluded by moving for a return of all persons entitled to pensions under the 57th Geo. III. chap. 65, and the 4th of Geo. IV. chap. 90 stating the names of those persons, and the amount of their pensions, and the length of the services for which they were granted.

February 7.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord King's discussion about tithes, which has already been in the Register. See No. 7 of this volume.—Nothing particular in the House of Commons.

February 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord King's further discussion about tithes, which also see in No. 7 of this volume.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PARDON AND AMNESTY.—This night came on the motion of the Member for Preston for the pardon of the labourers convicted under the special commissions, and in moving for which the only thing which he seems to have done, is, to make a weak case as it were on purpose to afford the Government an opportunity of sending all over the country a comparatively strong one. For, the reasoning in every mind is, of course, this: "Here is all that can be said in their behalf; and, as a part of that all consists of unqualified denunciations of the '*russian incendiaries*,' the '*mob*,' and so on, why then really, until mobs and ruffian incendiaries are looked upon as innocent things, governments cannot but put them down somehow." This is what every sober man would say upon reading this speech. Not one argument worth a straw, not a fact that was not either

flatly contradicted afterwards, or (without answer) so completely turned to the disadvantage of the poor fellows, as to produce a conviction of the justness of treating the motion with the monstrous contempt which it met with. But what can be expected in a speech which begins: "If honourable Gentlemen in that House, possessed of *every talent, endowment, and eloquence* (every *talent, every endowment, EVERY ELOQUENCE!*) thought it necessary to claim the indulgence of the House, *how much more necessary must it be for him, about as he was, humbly, respectfully,*" &c.? What can be expected when the crest turns white so soon; for really there had not been any thing that we see to alarm so much; nothing but the ordinary mace, the ordinary speaker's wig; nothing that could cause such crawling upon the very belly, if one compares it with any line of the speeches *out of doors*; that at Manchester, at Birmingham, or even here in Stamford-street, where a tart allusion to Government practices arose in the circumstance of a pickpocket being seen in the crowd. The Government is thanked by him *for its humanity*; Lord Melbourne is particularly thanked; the *mob is riotous*, and the *incendiaries ruffian*. Well, then, really all seems right. At any rate there could be no want of a *Parliamentary office* to transact such business as this! Nothing done *yet* that might not have been done full as well without any assistance; but much in this speech that had been better left undone. It was not to call the starved labourers of England *mob* and *ruffians* that he was sent into that House. I cannot insert this oration, for it is too long; but I observe that it seems to have produced continued roars of laughter, instead of attention; and displaying, to be sure, some specimens of learning that were enough to set a school-room in a roar. Motion negatived without a division.

IRELAND.—Expressly by way of contrast, one would think, O'GORMAN MAHON rose to move for some papers relative to Ireland. He seems to have been treated rather sneeringly by the

House, and, therefore, instantly began one of the boldest, one of the most really manly, attacks upon a whole host of opponents that I ever read or heard of. Exposed to the ministers and their adherents, to all the lawyers, to the late ministers, and to the shoy-hoys (led by Sir Francis Burdett), he battled away through a storm such as really might have daunted a man of his years and experience. Indeed, he seems to have been put out by it; he seems to have been bewildered; not to know where he left off at the last interruption; but it was the forgetfulness of a man whose blood was roused. Every-body that I have heard speak of this, speaks in admiration of this young man's conduct. Had he but more experience, how he might have dealt about him in his reply. Burdett denounced the "*agitator*" O'Connell. The "*agitator*"! Oh, if O'GORMAN MAHON had but recollected the days of Brentford agitation; had he but recollected the processions to Brentford, with men on the tops of coaches, hired to wear chains and clank them as they went along; had he but recollected the speeches at Brentford, the placards, the resistance of the Speaker's warrant, the barricading the house in Piccadilly; all without any *agitation* or intention to *agitate*, no doubt; if O'GORMAN MAHON had only recollected these things, how he might have retorted!

Sir F. BURDETT remarked, that the Government was in an awkward predicament, and that the hon. Member near him and others, who like him professed to support them, pursued a line of conduct calculated to cause them much annoyance. If they called that backing their friends (a plague on such backing!), he would only say, the Government would find more difficulty in avoiding these side attacks than any fair and adverse motions which might be brought to bear on them by declared opponents. He compared the indiscriminate attack of the hon. Member for Clare on all men and all parties in that House, to the conduct of one of his own countrymen at a fair, who laid about with his stick, breaking, indiscriminately, the heads of friends and foes. Long as was the speech of that hon. Member, it was difficult to pick out any one thing which admitted or required an answer. There was simply a string of general remarks, in which he reflected on Irishmen, the best friends of Ireland, and on the

Whigs of England, who had fought the battles of the Catholics for half a century, and thereby precluded themselves from the enjoyment of office, and those stations which were an object of ambition to all honourable men. From what had fallen from the hon. Member, it would appear that Dean Swift's assertion, "That what was true every-where else was not so in Ireland," was well founded; and it would even seem that words bore a different signification in Ireland from what they did every-where else, and therefore when Roman Catholics talked of gratitude without end, they must have meant gratitude without a beginning. (Cheers and laughter.) He must say, that he had never heard anything with more surprise than the tirade of the hon. Member for Clare against the Whigs, which has re-echoed from the great agitator at the other side of the water.

February 9.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of consequence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DISSECTION.—Colonel LYGON presented a petition from the Surgical and Medical Society of Worcestershire, praying for the removal of *all difficulties* in the way of obtaining subjects for dissection.

Devil! what ALL difficulties, COLONEL LYGON! The greatest difficulty of all, you know, Colonel, is, not being allowed to commit murder! That is to say, this is the *prime difficulty*. Why we shall be chopped at as we walk along the streets, Colonel, if *all* the difficulties should be removed; and the utmost lenity that we can expect, is, that, in their tender mercies, the petitioners will content themselves with a *slice* or a *limb*, instead of the whole carcass.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that it was not his intention to renew his bill in the present session, but that he had not relinquished the subject, and would probably bring in a bill respecting it in the next session of parliament.

For God's sake do not, Mr. WARBURTON! Do not, I say; for, if you do, you will only get the whole THING into more discredit than it now reels under. It can hardly carry what it has on it now; but pass this, and you will have the whole nation in uproar. History tells us of nations fighting for their property, their liberty, their religion, but pass this law, and we shall have a living nation fighting for its manes!

ROTUNDA-DENOUNCEMENTS.

Here the Member for Preston presented a petition from Mr. Hetherington, about Mr. O'Connell's trial; and he took occasion to denounce me (amongst others). I have done myself justice in the Register, No. 7, of this volume; and will only now remark, that having in his "*progresses*" denounced the House of Commons in language that I have preserved in some of my remarks on his speeches, he now, *being in the House*, being amongst those whom he so becalled when out of it; he now lays about him on all who are *out of the House*. That is to say, he has made his beginning. The *mob*, the *ruffian incendiaries*; the *farmers*, who, he says, are the instigators of the ruffians, and, lastly, me and the whole Rotunda! So that our turn seems to be now come. Denounce any-body but the man with whom he is standing foot to foot.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, Feb. 10.

TITHES.—Lord KING, on presenting some more Tithe petitions, wished to suggest to the right reverend Prelates, that they would act prudently, under the excited state of public feeling, if they would inform the country, not his Lordship, what was the plan they intended to propose. That would tend to allay the irritation of the people, and the country would know what it had to look to. He submitted that to the consideration of the right reverend prelates. When he first presented a petition to their Lordships on the subject of tithes, on Monday, he believed he stated that he would argue the question solely as a simple political economist, and he had not made a single observation on many of the questions which had attracted attention. He had not said one word about pluralities, nor one word about non-residence—the whole of those subjects had been brought forward by the over-zeal of a right reverend prelate in defending the church. That right reverend Prelate had charged the lay patrons with being the cause of non-residence, and had provoked the whole discussion. The right reverend Prelate said that they had smothered a bill for preventing non-residence; but when his noble Friend (the Earl of Radnor) asked the right reverend Prelate to specify the bill, he had not given a very satisfactory account. He believed that he could give a better account than was given by the right reverend Prelate. He was old enough to remember, that about twenty-five years ago an attorney excited a great sensation by the number of *qui tam* actions he brought to recover the penalties of a great

number of clergymen for non-residence. It was necessary to check these actions; they were an attack on the church in the tenderest part. Chancellors and lawyers, and civilians, and clergymen, were all consulted how to prevent these *qui tam* actions. The informations were laid, no doubt, for the penalties, and the informer had law then equally against persons who were altogether absent from their parishes, and against those who resided in their parishes, but did not live in the parsonage. This was an error. The learned lawyers, civilians, and chancellors, smote their foreheads to find out how they might relieve the church from the terror of these proceedings, and they suggested the means. Sir William Scott, he believed, brought a bill into the other House by which the *qui tams* were to be put an end to. The bill was sent down to Oxford to receive the suggestions of that learned body for its improvement, in order to render the bill more effectual. The bill purported to be a bill to make the clergy reside; the real object of it was to allow them to be non-resident; and no bill, he believed, had ever more effectually answered its real purpose. The lay patrons were accused of causing the non-residence, but there was no reason to believe from the *qui tam* actions that only their incumbents failed to reside. He believed that it was found, that as many non-residents were among the dignitaries of the church as among the incumbents who derive their situations from lay patrons. He remembered that the bill he had alluded to was opposed very much by a noble Earl, then in the other House, who was as much distinguished for his zeal against the Curates' Bill, as he was since distinguished in that House for his zealous support of all measures of reforming corrupt boroughs. That noble Earl had then fought with him in the good cause night after night, and hit hard at abuses—very hard—harder than he now hit the reformers, though he had snapped at his (Lord King's) fingers the other night. He did not now hit so hard as formerly. The right reverend Prelate had charged the laymen with being the cause of non-residence, and he hoped, therefore, that the right reverend Prelate would agree to a return of all persons holding pluralities, distinguishing whether they were held under lay or ecclesiastical patronage, including ecclesiastical corporations. Such a return would show whether more pluralities were held under lay or under ecclesiastical patronage, and their Lordships would see which class was most deserving of the accusation of causing non-residence. It was said, as a sort of excuse for pluralities, that they would greatly increase the number of curates. The curates resided, and not the incumbents. It was said, too, that the curates did the duty as well as the incumbents. But what lesson did that teach the public? It was admitted that the duty was as well done by the curates for one quarter of the salary. The public would be apt to apply to ecclesiastical offices the prin-

ciple that was now acted on in civil offices, where it was found that the deputy did all the duty, namely, to abolish the principal office, and retain only the deputy. It was a dangerous lesson to teach the public, that the curates did the duties of the church better than the incumbents, at one-fourth of the salary. With respect to residence, he must say that he highly approved of the charge of the Bishop of Winchester, who spoke of a benefice without a resident incumbent, as an ecclesiastical solecism. The charge of the right rev. Prelate did him great credit. He objected to tithes as a mode of paying the clergy. They were instituted in a barbarous age, when the state of society was different from its present state, and though tithes might be suitable then, they were unsuitable now. They might suit such a country as Poland, where the land was ploughed, and then left to the care of nature to restore to it what the agriculturist had taken from it. Tithes impeded agriculture, they prevented the application of capital to land; and there was no property more prejudicial than a tax on gross produce. No jury of twelve men would say that any greater benefit could be conferred on the country than a commutation of tithes. He would read to their Lordships an opinion of a gentleman, a very sensible man, as to property; he was a Republican, and therefore his opinion on some subjects would not be much valued by their Lordships. His Lordship accordingly read a short extract from the works of Jefferson, stating that the earth was the great capital stock, and was only inherited by individuals that the produce might be increased. That was Jefferson's opinion. He had placed property on a true foundation. He objected to tithes, that they diminished the produce, and diminished the beneficial effects of the right of property. The noble Lord concluded by presenting a petition from a place in Cambridgeshire, for an alteration in the tithe system.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM required that the petition should be read.

The Clerk read it "a petition for the repeal of the assessed taxes." (A laugh.)

Lord KING required that the petition should be read further, and it appeared also to be a petition for a commutation of tithes.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA was disposed readily to extend to other noble Lords that indulgence for any difference of sentiment which he himself had frequently received at the hands of their Lordships; but often as such indulgence had been granted to him, he felt that he had no other claim to it than the sincerity with which he had always delivered his sentiments. Viewing the conduct of the noble Baron, as it was shown by his attacks on tithes night after night, and particularly his observations on the established Church of the country, he was constrained to say that he could not give him the credit of sincerity in the professions he continually made of intending, by his observations, to promote the in-

terest of the church. (Hear, hear.) In presenting the petition, the noble Lord had permitted himself to make some unwarrantable personal attacks on some of the most respectable Prelates of the church. (Hear, hear.) He had made repeatedly attacks on that church (hear,) and had always spoken in the most contemptuous manner of the church establishment since he had had a seat in the House. The noble Baron, too, had spoken contemptuously of everything connected with religion, which made it doubtful whether, as the noble Baron could see nothing good in the Established Church, he meant to correct abuses. Whatever the noble Baron might say of the effects of religion, in his humble judgment the clergy of the Established Church were a most respectable class of men; and he maintained that religion was the only sure ground for private virtue and public honesty. It was a proper complaint of a right reverend prelate, on the other evening, that the noble Baron brought forward no measure of his own. He had spoken of all sorts of abuses: of tithes, of non-residence, of pluralities; and had gone into all sorts of questions connected with the church. (Hear, hear.) It was high time that the noble Lord's attacks, which might cause a pernicious effect if they remained unanswered, should be noticed, and he, for one, was determined not to allow attacks to be unanswered which he believed to be most injurious to the best interests of the church and the country. (Hear, hear.) He agreed cordially with the observations made by the noble Earl, the night before last; and he hoped that the good advice of that noble Earl would have been received by the noble Baron in good part. He agreed with the noble Earl, that no individual could trace the conduct of the Established Church for the last twenty years without being convinced that it had made very great improvements, owing to the exertions of the members of the Bench to enforce the residence of the inferior clergy. He was convinced that the clergymen of the Established Church stood as high in general estimation as the clergymen of any church in the world. Would to God that the upper classes possessed an equal influence! He spoke not of the influence of wealth, but of that influence which was founded on character; and he heartily wished that the upper classes possessed as much influence of that kind as the clergy were proved to possess in the late disturbed districts among the misguided peasantry. He would only add, that he would not stand up for abuses, and was prepared to say, that many alterations might take place to improve the Church; but he had no doubt, from the exertions already made by the members of the Bench, that the individuals of that body would correct abuses, and would place the Established Church on the very best footing. He would not sit in that House and hear attacks made on that Church without replying to them; and though he was an inefficient defender, practice might

enable him to meet the noble Baron. If the noble Baron brought forward any measure, he would pay as much attention to it as was proper; but he would not silently hear his attacks. (Hear.)

LORD RADNOR said that, one of the Reverend Bench started the subject of non-residence, and contended that the fault of non-residence did not rest on the Bishops, but on the lay-impropriators, who possessed so many advowsons. He was old enough to recollect when Lord Stowell, then Sir William Scott, brought the bill to promote the residence of the clergy into the House of Commons, in 1803. He was then in the House of Commons, and remembered that the bill had been avowedly sent to Oxford for the revision of the heads of the University, and that when it came back again, Mr. Windham fought it out to the last, and said that it was a bill, not for residence, but for non-residence, and the bill was almost for a whole Session before the House. Was it ever denied that that bill had been shown to and revised by the Bishops? No one ever doubted it. He did not wish to prolong the discussion, but he could not but notice, that the subject of residence had been brought by the heads of the Church under discussion in Parliament, both in 1803, and afterwards in 1817, by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and yet that their measures had proved inefficient to promote residence. He thought the residence of the clergy a matter of great importance, and was willing that the Bishops should have more power to enforce residence. But they must in the first place put an end to pluralities, as residence and pluralities could not exist together.

February 11.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Nothing of much consequence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE BUDGET. Lord Althorp brought forward this subject; but, as it is amply discussed in the body of this Register, it is not necessary to occupy room by putting in any part of the long speeches made upon this occasion.

FRANCE.

I HAVE not room to publish my son's letters; but they show, that there will speedily be an end of the *cheat* that has been going on ever since July.

LEEDS REFORM MEETING.

(Abridged from the *Leeds Mercury* of Saturday last.)

ON Thursday last a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the inhabitants of this borough, was held in the Court-house, at twelve, at noon, convened by the Mayor, on a requisition from sixty respectable inhabi-

tants, "to consider of the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of Parliamentary and economical reform, and particularly for the grant of the elective franchise to Leeds and other popular places." The attendance was such as has never before been seen in this town at a Reform meeting, in point of respectability, wealth, and intelligence; and it afforded the gratifying spectacle of a complete union between all classes of reformers in seeking their grand object.

On the motion of Mr. Clapham, JOHN MARSHALL, Esq., was called to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN:—Gentlemen, we are now met to take into consideration a subject the most important of any which can come before an assemblage of Englishmen. We have some of us long and anxiously looked forward to the time when our fellow-countrymen would demand their right to a thorough reform of the representation—of a corrupt House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) We have endeavoured, as far as in us lay, to promote that object. We have followed it through good and evil report, and hitherto without success; but, we have at last seen one set of Ministers driven from their places by their determination to refuse all Reform. (Hear, hear.) We have seen the formation of another Administration, which has professed to advocate those principles of Reform and Retrenchment which we think so necessary to the state, and they have pledged themselves to bring those measures forward in Parliament at no distant date. Gentlemen, if they redeem their pledges—if they bring forward such a Reform as the state of the country requires, they will deserve the gratitude of their country, and will have the support of every honest and independent man. (Hear, hear.) As the plan will be produced on the 1st of March next, it behoves us to prepare ourselves for receiving it, to watch over the measure, and to see that those regulations which we consider proper and necessary to the peace and well-being of the town are made—I mean that the election should be taken in a short period, that the votes should be taken in divisions, each division of the town having its own poll, and the out-townships the same, so that the poll may be taken in a few hours, or at least in one day; and, what is of more importance, that we should consider in what manner we are to support the bringing forward of those arrangements for taking the poll, so as to exclude all bribery and corruption, and intimidation of voters—in short, that the poll should be taken by Ballot. (Applause.)

Mr. RAWSON, in moving the first Resolution, said, an independent House of Commons would never allow any government to commence and carry on a system of iniquity, for the sake of promoting and providing for their numerous dependents and connexions. An independent House of Commons would most indignantly

refuse the profligate expenditure of public money in most disgraceful pensions and sinecures. An independent House of Commons would tear up by the roots every monopoly intended to enrich the few, who have more than enough and to spare, and to impoverish the multitude, who are earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. An independent House of Commons would, in short, consult the true welfare of the people, by diminishing the burdens they have to bear, by encouraging their industry, by uniting all their interests, and by establishing their liberties. (Great cheering.)

Mr. BAINES said, the persons who used to domineer over the people of England, who hallooed Mr. Pitt into war, and brought upon the nation the Income Tax and all the other mischiefs of that system, the persons who were the cause of a thousand millions of the public money being spent in an unnecessary war, and of all the distress and misery which the country has since suffered, that same party has sunk never more to rise. Peace be to their manes. (Loud cheers.) Most happy am I to say it; I saw this party rise, and I have seen it fall; that it may never again rear its crest is my wish, as I believe it will be yours. (Hear, hear.) I have nothing more to do at present than to move the Resolution, which I have no doubt will receive your cordial approbation. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL, jun. proposed the third resolution, and said, we have now a Ministry pledged to bring forward a measure of Reform; and though it cannot possibly be such as will give universal satisfaction, I trust it will contain some real improvement in our political system. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. CLAPHAM seconded the motion with great pleasure. He had long been a labourer in the field of Reform, but had not been able to effect any thing. We must not allow the Ministers of the Crown, and his Majesty himself, to be borne down, but must support them to the utmost of our ability in effecting all those Radical Reforms.

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON, said, is there any objection to the Ballot that any upright man has ever heard? I have not heard one. (A voice: "And you never will.") The Ballot will overturn bribery; for, as Mr. Sykes said, no man will buy a pig in the poke, or rather, no man will buy the poke, it being a matter of doubt whether there is a pig in it or not. (A laugh and cheers.) It will prevent intimidation; it will not give a master an opportunity of saying to his servants: Go and vote for such a candidate, or I will deprive you of your daily bread. If the people do not back a reforming King and a reforming Administration, the result will be, that we must be delivered over again to the Castle-reagh school of politicians (a voice: "Never"), and then we shall have corruption in perpetuity, excessive taxation in perpetuity, and degradation of the people, until public opinion, or, something worse, revolution, sets the matter right. (Applause.)

Mr. JOHN HEAPS, in seconding the resolution, felt himself in a dilemma. Some of his friends before him had endeavoured to prove the existence of a corrupt House of Commons; in his view there was no such place as a House of Commons. (Laughter.) The resolution which he had the pleasure to second, he supported with all his heart and soul. He had long been looking for a House of Commons. There were 87 persons in England and Wales who returned 218 members; 21 returning 31 members for Scotland; and 31 persons in Ireland, returning 57 members for Ireland and England—so that it was evident that there was no Commons' House at all.

G. WAILES, Esq., then came forward and said, he would never vote for any candidate who would not promise to support the Ballot, contending that it was quite constitutional for them to require pledges of their representatives, notwithstanding some of the Members for Yorkshire had said they would vote according to their own notions, and would give no pledges.

Mr. JOSH. BOWER had been a steady reformer ever since the present Prime Minister, as Mr. Grey, brought forward his famous Motion. His sentiments had been the same at that time as those of the Whig interest (applause); but he began to fear that they would not go far enough, since some of them were also borough proprietors.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER HEAPS was afraid, judging from the Civil List submitted to Parliament by the present Ministry, that the hopes of the country, with respect to economy in the public expenditure, would be disappointed. He trusted, however, that his fears would not be realised.

Mr. EDWARD BAINES, jun., said the advancement of knowledge, which some sneer at, because they dread it, has at length poured in a flood of light on the system; and as the people now both know their rights and value them, it may be expected that the monstrous abuses and absurdities of the system will vanish, as the visions and phantoms of night disappear at the approach of day.

Mr. WATTS moved, that Mr. Hunt be requested to support the Petition (GENERAL HISSING and DISAPPROBATION).

Mr. SMITHSON thought, that any one who entertained a good opinion of Mr. Hunt, would believe him to be ready to support the petition without any such motion. (Cheers.)

Mr. WATTS, seeing that his motion was universally disapproved of, withdrew it.

The meeting then separated.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1831.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BACON, R., Fenchurch-street, tea-broker.
BROWN, J., Wednesbury, Stafford, dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

BENSON, J. and J., Manchester, agents.
BREEDEN, S., Birmingham, draper.

COOK, W., Darlington-place, coach-maker.
 GRAY, J. and W.P. Morris, Bristol, wine-mer.
 LANDRAY, W. Lime-Regis, Dorsetsh. printer.
 LAZENBY, T., York, grocer.
 REED, A., Bishopmiddleham, brewer.
 YOUNG, C., Charing-cross, picture-dealer.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

FEB. 14.—LEWIS, T., King's-road, Chelsea, builder.

FEB. 14.—BACKLER, S., St. James's-street, Westminster, tobacconist.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HEANE, J., Gloucester, brick-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, E., Bristol, oil gas manufacturer.

BINDLEY, J., sen., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, glue-manufacturer.

BROWN, P., Farnham, Surrey, upholster.

COLLINS, J. J., Islington, victualler.

ETHERIDGE, H. J. F. Broad-st. St. Giles, grocer.

EWINGTON, W., Finsbury-sq., wine-merch.

GOODWIN, H., otherwise Goodwin, H. A., Milbank-street, Westminster, plaster of Paris manufacturer.

JONES, R., Gracechurch-st., woollen-draper.

KILLERBY, J., White-street, Southwark, straw hat manufacturer.

LEE, J., York, haberdasher.

MARTIN, J. jun., Swindon, Wiltsh., currier.

POARCH, J., Cheltenham, grocer.

SHERARD, E. Hart-st., Bloomsbury, tailor.

WILKINSON, N., Halifax, Yorkshire, straw hat manufacturer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEB. 14.—

There is a very short supply of Wheat this morning, and the factors anticipate that the duties on foreign Grain will be, on Thursday, at 2s. 8d. per quarter. Business in the Wheat trade is very dull, and this Grain, on anticipation of the reduced duties, is 2s. to 4s. per quarter cheaper. The new Wheat brought to market is in very bad condition. Foreign Wheat may be quoted at a reduction of 1s. 6d. per quarter. Barley may be quoted at last week's prices, as also may Oats, the latter Grain being heavy sale. Beans and Peas cannot be quoted cheaper than on Monday last, but the trade is dull. Flour remains as last quoted.

Wheat	70s. to 82s.
Rye	28s. to 33s.
Barley	42s. to 44s.
— fine	46s. to 49s.
Peas, White	42s. to 44s.
— Boilers	45s. to 49s.
— Grey	36s. to 42s.
Beans, Small	42s. to 45s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoes	28s. to 34s.
— Poland	26s. to 28s.
— Feed	22s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	60s. to 65s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 40s. to 42s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ...	38s. to 42s.
Pork, India, new... 112s. 6d.	
— Mess, new... 57s. 6d. to—s. per barrel	
Butter, Belfast	96s. to 98s. per cwt.
— Carlow	94s. to 98s.
— Cork	96s. to 98s.
— Limerick ...	96s. to 98s.
— Waterford ...	92s. to —s.
— Dublin	92s. to 94s.
Cheese, Cheshire	40s. to 70s.
— Gloucester, Double..	44s. to 56s.
— Gloucester, Single..	44s. to 50s.
— Edam	40s. to 46s.
— Gouda	42s. to 46s.
Hams, Irish	45s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD—Feb. 14.

Beef is cheaper to-day, 4s. 2d. to 4s. 4d. per stone being the last quotation. Mutton, for prime young Downs, is quoted at 4s. 6d. to 4s. 8d. per stone, and Veal, for the best young Calves, is 5s. 4d. to 5s. 8d. per stone. Dairy-fed Porkers are 4s. 6d. to 5s. per stone. Beasts, 2,313; Sheep, 17,030; Calves, 140; Pigs, 150.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 18.

The supplies are still small, but the market is very dull at Monday's prices. Wheat is 1s. 6d. 2s. cheaper.

	English arrivals.	Foreign.	Irish.
Flour . . .	6,380		
Wheat . . .	4,230	1,140	
Barley . . .	7,440	780	
Oats . . .	9,830		345

This day is published, Price 2s.,

TWENTY-THREE LETTERS upon the CHURCH PROPERTY, and upon the LITURGY of the CHURCH, together with some Miscellaneous Letters, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Bangor, and Bristol. By EXPOTULATON, author of the "Letters from Edinburgh, to the Bishops of England and Ireland."

London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, and to be had of all Booksellers.

Just Published, Second Edition, with Additions, Price 2s.,

THE STATE PREFERABLE to the CHURCH; or Reasons for making Sale of the whole of the present Property of the Church in England and Ireland, for the Use of the State, and for rendering the Clergy more equal among themselves, less vexatious and onerous to the Laity, and more dependent on their Head, by subjecting them to the Exchequer for their Stipends, as practised in Holland; with a View of the Self-denying Conduct of the Popish Clergy, &c.

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